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Improving Quality During School Desegregation.

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The requirement that public schools desegregate presents many problems for the school districts of Louisiana and other States, but also offers opportunities for improving educational quality for all students, regardless of race. Recent court decisions and civil rights legislation leave no doubt that the present minimal desegregation efforts of Louisiana's schools are inadequate and must be greatly improved in the immediate future. This legal impetus for rapid desegregation is buttressed by research findings which indicate a comparatively low degree of educational attainment among both white and Negro citizens of Louisiana. School officials need to carefully evaluate the probable effectiveness of all methods available for achievement of desegregation (bussing, educational parks, school pairing, etc.). If the overall quality of Louisiana's schools is to improve, additional improvements must be sought in such areas as teacher preparation, recruitment, and evaluation; instructional programs; organization for instruction; and school facilities. Thirty-one recommendations are made for bolstering the educational program of the State. (JH)

ED029363

improving quality during school desegregation

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PREFACE

This report deals with the problems and opportunities presented by the requirement that Louisiana public school systems integrate the races in their schools. The study examines some of the differences which have existed in educational opportunities for whites and Negroes in the state, discusses educational problems which have arisen here and elsewhere because of such differences, and recommends steps which should be taken to overcome some of the difficulties attendant upon integrating faculties and pupils. The purpose of this study is to aid residents of Louisiana in understanding the problems facing the schools during this period of great change and to make recommendations which will not only aid in the solutions to these problems but will also contribute towards improvement of the entire elementary and secondary school system in Louisiana.

The advice and assistance of many persons in public education is gratefully acknowledged. Included among those who provided counsel and information were local school officials and staffs in various school systems in Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee; officials and faculty of Louisiana colleges and universities; the secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and members of his staff; and personnel of the Louisiana State Department of Education, the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory and the Educational Resource Center on School Desegregation. The assistance of these persons, who deal constantly with matters of school integration, was invaluable to the study.

While data and information from many sources was used in this report, PAR is solely responsible for the interpretation and construction given such data and for the recommendations made.

Celine M. Ganel, senior research associate, carried out the research and prepared the report. She was assisted by Hubert C. Lindsay, research analyst.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface iii

I. THE PRESENT SITUATION 1
  Louisiana Reports 1
 Recent Court Decisions Affecting Louisiana Schools 2
  The "Jefferson" Decision 4
   Faculty Desegregation 5
  Establishment of Unitary School Systems 6
  The "Green" Decision 8
   Application to Louisiana Cases 9
   Decision of the Western Division Judges 10

II. BACKGROUND: EDUCATION AND THE RACES IN LOUISIANA 12
 Differences in White and Negro Schools 15
  Value of School Facilities Per Pupil 21
  Pupil-Teacher Ratios 22
  Accreditation of Schools 23
  College Training of Teachers 24
  Pupil Retention 25

III. THE EFFECTS OF NEGLECT 28
 Cultural and Educational Deprivation 32
  Results of Tests Given Pupils 34
  Teachers and Future Teachers 36

IV. METHODS FOR DESEGREGATING SCHOOLS 38
  The Situation in the Parishes 38
 Resistance to Majority Negro Schools 41
  Identification of Schools 45
 Methods of Desegregating Schools 46
  Geographic Attendance Zones 46
  School Pairing 48

PAGE

Reassignment of Pupils from Closed Schools ... 51
Bussing ... 51
Open Enrollment ... 51
Educational Parks ... 52
The Effects of Residential Patterns Upon Desegregation 54
The Role of the School Board and Community Attitudes 55

V. THE SCHOOL FACULTY ... 56
Improving the Instructional Staff ... 58
Teacher Selection and Preparation ... 59
Teacher Examinations ... 60
Programs of Teacher Training Institutions ... 61
Supervision and Evaluation of Teachers ... 62
Upgrading the Present Faculty ... 63
Sabbatical Leaves and Compensation ... 65

VI. THE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM ... 68
Programs for Disadvantaged Children ... 70
Preschool Programs ... 71
Compensatory Programs ... 72
Grouping Pupils for Instruction ... 72
Nongraded Schools ... 73
Implications for Desegregated Schools ... 75
Extended School Year ... 76
Ability or Achievement Grouping ... 77
Problems in Desegregated Schools ... 80
Flexible Scheduling and Class Size ... 82
The Instructional Faculty ... 83
Use of Specialists and Aides ... 84
Team Teaching ... 85
Team Organization ... 87
Significance for Desegregated Schools ... 88

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS ... 92
Desegregation Plans ... 93
Personnel Recruitment, Supervision and Retention 94
Upgrading Present Faculties ... 96
Teacher Training Programs ... 97
The Instructional Program ... 99
Organization for Instruction ... 101
School Facilities ... 102
Conclusion ... 107
Appendix ... 107

Tables in Text

PAGE

Table 1. Desegregated Enrollment and Faculties in Louisiana Public Schools, Fall 1968 3

Table 2. Negroes As Proportion of the Population, Public School Enrollment and Faculties, Louisiana, 1910-1967 14

Table 3. Operating Expenditure Per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance, Louisiana Public Schools 15

Table 4. Selected Statistics on White and Negro Public Schools, Louisiana, 1910-1967 18

Table 5. College Degrees Held By Principals and Teachers in Louisiana Public Schools, 1966-67 25

Table 6. Progress Made By Louisiana Residents in Educational Attainment, By Race, 1940-1960 30

Table 7. Negro Pupils as a Proportion of All Pupils, Louisiana Public Schools, 1967-68 40

Tables in Appendix

Table I. Inventory Value of School Faculties Per Pupil, By Race, Louisiana Public Schools, 1966-67........ 108

Table II. Average Number of Pupils Per Classroom Teacher in Predominantly White and Negro Public Schools, 1967-68 110

Table III. Public High Schools Regionally Accredited or State Approved, Louisiana, 1966-67 111

Table IV. Holding Power of the Public Schools: Per Cent of Enrollment Remaining in Each Grade From Original First Grade Registration 114

Table V. Results of Verbal Ability Test Given Pupils At Grades 6, 9 and 12, By Region of United States and Ethnic Group, 196[illegible] 116

Table VI. Results of Reading Comprehension Test Given

PAGE

Pupils At Grades 6, 9 and 12, By Region of the United States and Ethnic Group, 1965 117

Table VII. Results of Mathematics Achievement Test Given Pupils At Grades 6, 9 and 12, By Region of the United States and Ethnic Group, 1965 118

Table VIII. Selected Comparisons Between Future Teachers and Other Students, By Region and Race, College Seniors 119

Table IX. Results of Verbal Competence Test Given Teachers and Future Teachers, By Race and Region, 1965 120

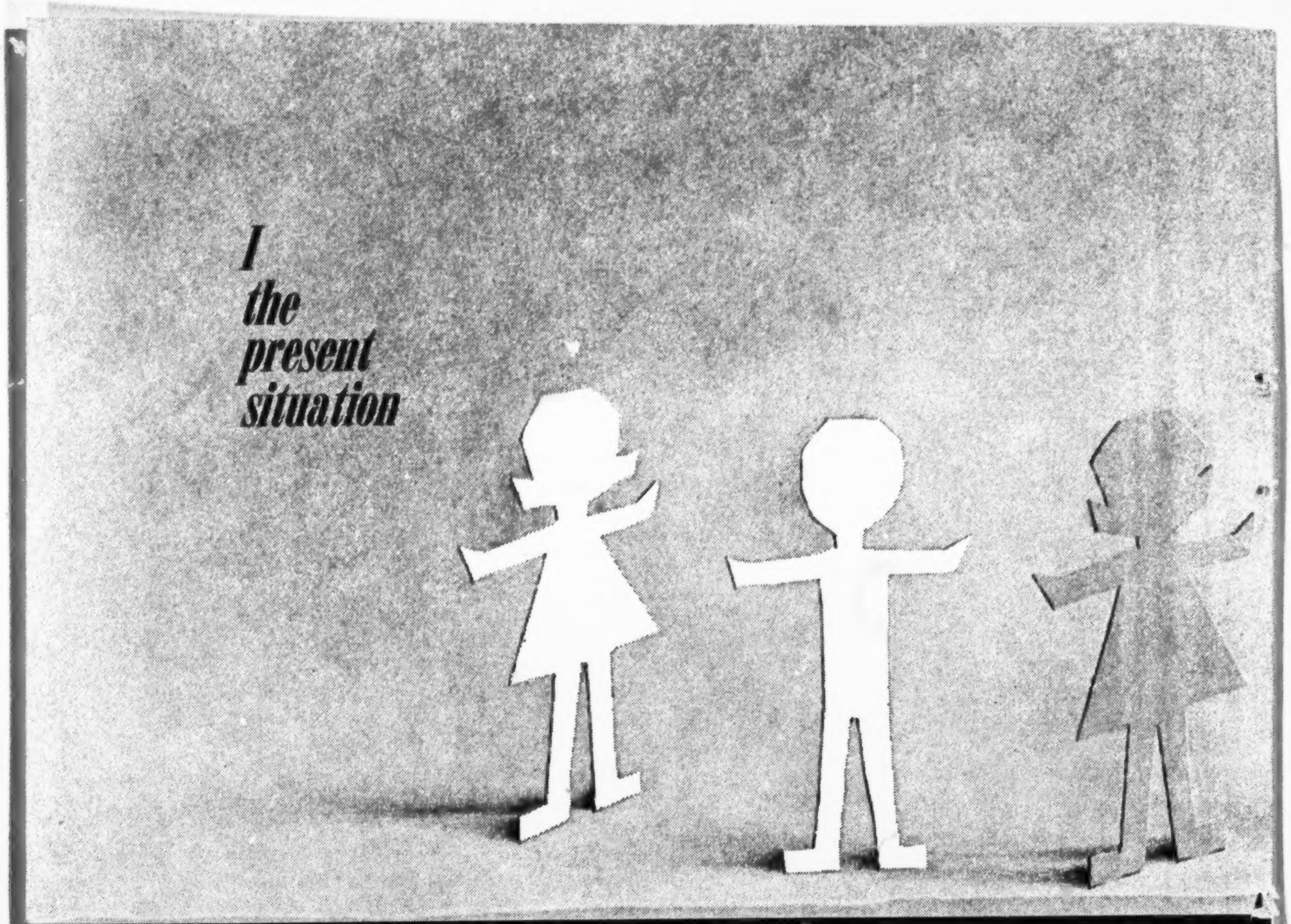
Table X. Results of Tests Given College Students, Grouped By Intent or No Intent To Teach, and By Race and Region, 1965 121

Figures

Figure 1. Years of School Completed By Persons 25 Years and Older in Louisiana, By Age and Color, 1960 31

Figure 2. Negro Pupils as a Proportion of All Pupils in Public Schools, 1967-68 42

I
the present situation



In the fall of 1967, 13 years after the Supreme Court's first decision requiring desegregation of public schools, approximately 14 per cent of Negro pupils included in a survey in 11 southern states were enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools in which at least half of the enrollment was white. The 1968 survey by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) covered 91 per cent of estimated Negro enrollment in the 11 states. In the 46 Louisiana public school systems included in the survey, 6.7 per cent of Negro pupils were enrolled in schools in which at least half of the pupils were white. Among the southern states, only South Carolina (with 6.4 per cent desegregation), Alabama (5.4 per cent) and Mississippi (3.9 per cent) had smaller proportions of their Negro pupils in schools in which white pupils were in the majority. Texas and Virginia had the greatest amount of desegregation, with 26.1 and 20.4 per cent of their Negro pupils, respectively, in predominantly white schools.[1]

Prior to enactment by Congress of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, there was very little pupil desegregation in the South or in Louisiana. Southern Education Reporting Service (SERS) reported

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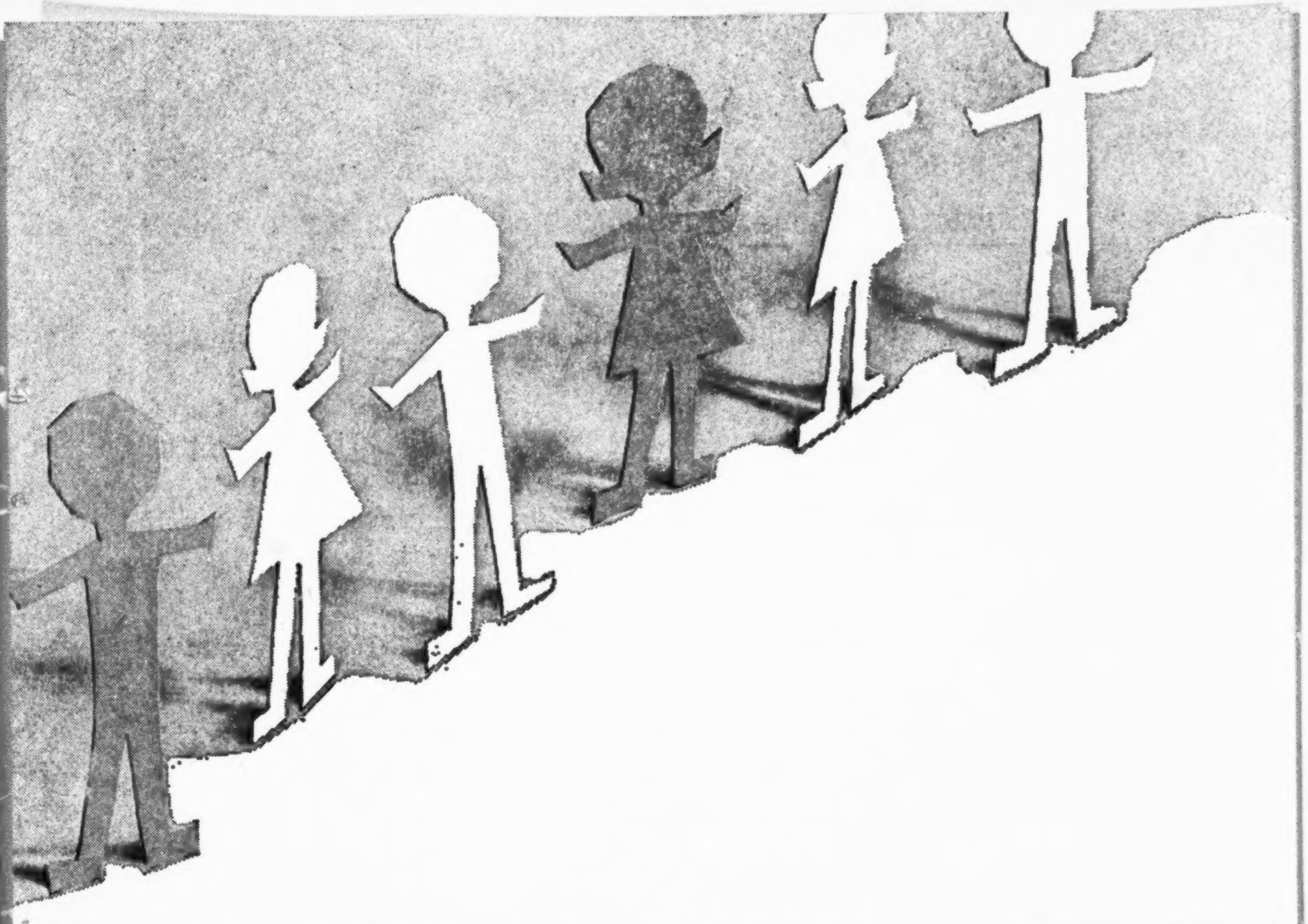
[1] The other southern states included in the survey were: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, survey data released May 27, 1968.



that 1.2 per cent of all Negro public school pupils in the same 11 southern states were in schools which had some white pupils in 1963-64. Six-tenths of 1 per cent of Louisiana's Negro pupils were reported in school with whites at that time.[2] (SERS and HEW data is based on different definitions, and SERS data is used here only as an indication of the nominal amount of desegregation achieved before 1964.)

After the Department of Health, Education and Welfare began enforcing the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the pace of pupil desegregation increased slightly. SERS reported that approximately 2.2 per cent of all Negro pupils in the southern states were in schools with white pupils in 1964-65. This increased to 6.1 per cent in 1965-66 and 15.9 per cent in 1966-67.[3]

Louisiana Reports

The Louisiana State Department of Education now also reports on the number of pupils and teachers in schools of another race at the beginning of the school year. According to the department there were 35,196 Negro pupils in predominantly or formerly white public schools in 56 of the 66 Louisiana school systems in October 1968. A much smaller number of white pupils, 241, were reported as enrolled in Negro schools in seven of the school systems.[4] In addition, the Lafourche school system, with 14,390 white pupils and 2,497 Negro pupils, is reported by the State Department of Education as a "unitary" school system, since there are no longer any distinctions of white or Negro schools in that system. Thus, all of its pupils and teachers could be considered to be in desegregated schools.

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[2] Southern Education Reporting Service, *Statistical Summary of School Segregation—Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, 1966-67* (Nashville, Tenn., 1967).
[3] *Ibid.*

If the Lafourche pupils are excluded, the 35,196 Negro pupils in white schools represent 10.5 per cent of all Negro pupils enrolled in the other Louisiana public school systems in October 1968. The 241 white pupils in Negro schools amount to 0.05 per cent of the white pupils enrolled at that time.

Many of the Louisiana school systems were required by the courts to begin faculty desegregation in 1967-68. Fifty-five of the systems reported a total of 1,284 Negro teachers and school professional staff assigned to duties in white schools, and 54 systems reported 788 white faculty assigned to Negro schools at the beginning of the 1968-69 school year.

Table 1 shows the number of pupils and faculty members desegregated in each of Louisiana's school systems in the early weeks after school opening in 1968.

All except nine of the 66 Louisiana public school systems had some pupil desegregation at the beginning of the 1968-69 school year. The nine systems with no desegregation had not come under court order at that time. They were: Caldwell, Cameron, Catahoula, Franklin, Morehouse, Red River, Sabine, Tensas and West Carroll.

RECENT COURT DECISIONS AFFECTING LOUISIANA SCHOOLS

While the exchange of pupils and teachers which has taken place does not represent large-scale desegregation, Louisiana is entering a period that will see decided changes in the racial composition of its public schools. The concept of separate schools established or ordained for white and Negro children within a town or a city neighborhood is no longer acceptable under law, and while separate schools linger on in the pupil assignment procedures of some Lou-

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[4] For simplification, the terms "white schools" and "Negro schools" will be used in this report to refer to schools whose student bodies are or formerly were predominantly white or Negro.

Table 1

DESEGREGATED ENROLLMENT AND FACULTIES IN LOUISIANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, FALL 1968

School System	Pupils		Teachers	
	No. Negroes In White Schools[1]	No. Whites In Negro Schools[2]	No. Negroes In White Schools[1]	No. Whites In Negro Schools[2]
Acadia	149	0	23	12
Allen	540	0	14	4
Ascension	101	0	16	13
Assumption	479	0	8	0
Avoyelles	418	0	8	9
Beauregard	222	0	7	3
Bienville	60	0	13.5	13.2
Bossier	188	1	33	22
Caddo	630	35	95	55
Calcasieu	946	0	31	28
Caldwell	0	0	0	0
Cameron	0	0	0	0
Catahoula	0	0	0	0
Claiborne	22	0	0	8
Concordia	37	0	14	13
DeSoto	35	0	14	14
East Baton Rouge	2,057	2	73	38
East Carroll	133	0	4	7
East Feliciana	52	0	4	5
Evangeline	71	0	18	11
Franklin	0	0	0	0
Grant	39	0	3	4
Iberia	426	0	24	2
Iberville	448	0	20	23
Jackson	83	0	7.8	7.3
Jefferson	2,703	9	32	1
Jefferson Davis	270	0	11	2
Lafayette	1,195	0	45	26
Lafourche[3]	.....	.....	.....	.....
LaSalle	0	0	5	3
Lincoln	116	0	16	17
Livingston	7	0	36	4
Madison	83	0	4	13
Morehouse	0	0	0	0
Natchitoches	136	0	33	32
Orleans	14,382	25	128.5	49
Ouachita	77	0	38	36
Plaquemines	900	0	8	0
Pointe Coupee	166	0	11	10
Rapides	412	0	34	29.5
Red River	0	0	0	0
Richland	28	0	11	12.3
Sabine	0	0	0	0
St. Bernard	372	0	10	2
St. Charles	299	0	26	9
St. Helena	71	0	6	2
St. James	448	0	15	12
St. John	529	0	17	17
St. Landry	330	0	23	21

Table 1 (Continued)

School System	Pupils		Teachers	
	No. Negroes In White Schools[1]	No. Whites In Negro Schools[2]	No. Negroes In White Schools[1]	No. Whites In Negro Schools[2]
St. Martin	132	0	15	8
St. Mary	739	0	53	12
St. Tammany	876	1	39	11.5
Tangipahoa	157	0	45	35
Tensas	0	0	0	0
Terrebonne	1,191	0	24	16
Union	15	0	17	12
Vermilion	722	0	21	3
Vernon	234	168	17	19.5
Washington	494	0	24	17.5
Webster	108	0	15	8
West Baton Rouge	142	0	12	13
West Carroll	0	0	0	0
West Feliciana	119	0	3	1
Winn	65	0	10	3
City of Monroe	54	0	25	26
City of Bogalusa	488	0	24	13
TOTALS[3]	35,196	241	1,283.8	787.8

[1] Refers to number of Negroes in formerly or predominantly white schools.
[2] Refers to number of whites in formerly or predominantly Negro schools.
[3] Excludes data for Lafourche Parish which reported it had a unitary school system. Lafourche reported 14,390 white and 2,497 Negro pupils and 682 white and 92 Negro teachers.

Source: Louisiana State Department of Education release dated October 7, 1968.

isiana school systems, there is every evidence from recent decisions that the federal courts will not countenance them much longer.

The "Jefferson" Decision

On March 29, 1967 the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit handed down a decision on a petition for a rehearing by the court as a whole, in segregation cases brought against the Jefferson County, Alabama, school board and other boards in Louisiana and Alabama. The en banc decision of the appellate court reconfirmed a decision handed down on December 29, 1966 by a three-judge court hearing appeals in the case. These two decisions of the appellate court represented the most far-reaching court action until then specifically affecting segregation in Louisiana public schools. In October 1967 the U. S. Supreme Court refused a rehearing in the cases, which in effect left the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals decision standing.[5]

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[5] *United States* v. *Jefferson County Board of Education,* (5th Cir., 1967) 372 F. 2d 836, affirmed and adopted en banc with clarifications, 380 F. 2d 385. *Caddo Parish School Board* v. *United States,* (1967) 389 U.S. 840.

In its second opinion in the *Jefferson* case, the appellate court reaffirmed the reason for ending school segregation and placed upon school boards and officials "the affirmative duty" to bring about an integrated unitary school system for white and Negro pupils. The court stated:

> 2. School desegregation cases involve more than a dispute between certain Negro children and certain schools. If Negroes are ever to enter the mainstream of American life, as school children they must have equal educational opportunities with white children.
>
> 3. The Court holds that boards and officials administering public schools in this circuit have the affirmative duty under the Fourteenth Amendment to bring about an integrated, unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools—just schools. Expressions in our earlier opinions distinguishing between integration and desegregation must yield to this affirmative duty we now recognize. In fulfilling this duty it is not enough for school authorities to offer Negro children the opportunity to attend formerly all-white schools. The necessity of overcoming the effects of the dual school system in this circuit requires integration of faculties, facilities, and activities, as well as students. To the extent that earlier decisions of this Court (more in the language of the opinion than in the effect of the holding) conflict with this view, the decisions are overruled. . . .[6]

The decree accompanying this opinion required that, beginning with the 1967-68 school year, all grades in the affected school systems, including kindergarten, were to be desegregated and pupils were to be assigned to schools without regard to race or color.

The method spelled out by the court for achieving pupil desegregation at that stage of the movement to unitary schools was the freedom of choice method. Under this method, each pupil, or his parent or other adult person serving as a parent, chooses which school the pupil wishes to attend. No choice of school made by a pupil or his parents may be denied by school officials for any reason other than overcrowding, unless there are "extraordinary circumstances" involved, and in such cases the approval of the court is required. In case of overcrowding at any school, preference is to be given the pupils choosing it "on the basis of the proximity of the school to the homes of the students choosing it, without regard to race or color."

Faculty Desegregation

The corrected decree of the appellate court in the *Jefferson* case also required a beginning of faculty desegregation in the school year 1967-68, and, in fact, required the defendant school boards to take positive steps to bring about "substantial" desegregation of faculties in as many schools as possible that year. The decree stated:

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[6] *United States* v. *Jefferson County Board of Education*, (5th Cir., 1967) 380 F. 2d 385.

> (a) *Faculty Employment.* Race or color shall not be a factor in the hiring, assignment, reassignment, promotion, demotion, or dismissal of teachers and other professional staff members, including student teachers, except that race may be taken into account for the purpose of counteracting or correcting the effect of the segregated assignment of faculty and staff in the dual system. Teachers, principals, and staff members shall be assigned to schools so that the faculty and staff is not composed exclusively of members of one race. Wherever possible, teachers shall be assigned so that more than one teacher of the minority race (white or Negro) shall be on a desegregated faculty. Defendants shall take positive and affirmative steps to accomplish the desegregation of their school faculties and to achieve substantial desegregation of faculties in as many of the schools as possible for the 1967-68 school year notwithstanding that teacher contracts for the 1967-68 or 1968-69 school years may have already been signed and approved. . . .[7]

The court specified that tenure provisions shall not be used as an excuse for failure to comply with the requirement to desegregate teachers. If any faculty or professional staff members are to be displaced as a result of desegregation, no vacancy in the school system shall be filled by recruiting from outside the system unless none of the displaced employees are qualified to fill the vacancy. If desegregation is to result in a reduction in the total professional staff of the school system, the qualifications of all staff members must be evaluated in selecting the members to be released without consideration of race.

The goal of faculty desegregation is to assist in ending the dual school system for whites and Negroes:

> . . . The defendants shall establish as an objective that the pattern of teacher assignment to any particular school not be identifiable as tailored for a heavy concentration of either Negro or white pupils in the school. . . .[8]

This is in line with the belief that a preponderance of white or Negro teachers on the faculty of a school tends to reinforce the identification of the school as a white or Negro school in the minds of pupils and parents exercising a choice of schools and in the public view.

Establishment of Unitary School Systems

The *Jefferson* decree was applied by federal district judges to school systems throughout Louisiana which were before the courts in desegregation suits. The manner in which the district judges applied the decree differed, but in all cases the judges recognized that the decision required the eventual elimination of dual school systems and the establishment of unitary systems.

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[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*

However, there is little evidence that Louisiana school boards and their staffs seriously considered this charge of the courts, or tried to work out methods which would be effective in eliminating their dual systems of white and Negro schools. With few exceptions the school systems relied upon the "free choice" method for obtaining pupil desegregation and did not attempt to achieve any large amount of faculty desegregation. There is a question how long freedom of choice will be accepted by the courts as a method which is effective enough in moving Louisiana toward unitary school systems.

In freedom of choice the initial step in pupil desegregation must be taken by the pupil himself or his parents rather than by the officials responsible for managing the school system. The decisions which the school officials may make in assigning pupils are in most cases prescribed by procedural instructions laid down by the courts. In a very real sense the burden of desegregating the schools is placed upon the pupils and their parents rather than upon school officials. At the same time, school officials are deprived of the ability to make important decisions in the administration of the schools even if such decisions would be made in accordance with the requirement for a unitary school system.

The U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit recognized some of the inherent shortcomings in the freedom of choice method when it stated in the second *Jefferson* opinion:

> 4. Freedom of choice is not a goal in itself. It is a means to an end. A schoolchild has no inalienable right to choose his school. A freedom of choice plan is but one of the tools available to school officials *at this stage* of the process of converting the dual system of separate schools for Negroes and whites into a unitary system. The governmental objective of this conversion is—educational opportunities on equal terms to all. The criterion for determining the validity of a provision in a school desegregation plan is whether the provision is reasonably related to accomplishing this objective.
>
> . . . If the plan is ineffective, longer on promises than performance, the school officials charged with initiating and administering a unitary system have not met the constitutional requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment; they should try other tools.[9]

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[9] *Ibid.*

The "Green" Decision

In a unanimous decision in May 1968, the U. S. Supreme Court also emphasized the need to end dual school systems for whites and Negroes and made it clear that freedom of choice will be acceptable only if it is effective in quickly bringing about unitary school systems. In the case of *Green* v. *County School Board of Kent County, Virginia, et. al.*, the court stated:

> . . . a plan that at this late date fails to provide meaningful assurance of prompt and effective disestablishment of a dual system is also intolerable. . . . The burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work *now*.[10]

The Supreme Court held in the *Green* case that it is incumbent upon the school board to show that its proposed plan "promises meaningful and immediate progress" toward ending state-imposed segregation, and it is the duty of the district court to weigh that claim in light of the facts in the case and also in light of any alternative plans which may be feasible and promise greater effectiveness in ending dual systems. With regard to the freedom of choice method, the court held:

> Although the general experience under 'freedom of choice' to date has been such as to indicate its ineffectiveness as a tool of desegregation, there may well be instances in which it can serve as an effective device. If it offers real promise of aiding a desegregation program to effectuate conversion of a state-imposed dual system to a unitary, nonracial system, there might be no objection to allowing such a device to prove itself in operation. On the other hand, if there are reasonably available other ways, such for illustration as zoning, promising speedier and more effective conversion to a unitary, nonracial school system 'freedom of choice' must be held unacceptable.[11]

The court found that the Kent County freedom of choice plan was not effective in ending the county's dual school system, in which racial identification of the schools had formerly been complete. In 3 years of operation under the plan, no white children had chosen to attend the county's "Negro" school and 85 per cent of the Negro pupils in the system were still in that school. Rather than dismantling the dual system, the court wrote, the free choice plan had operated simply to burden children and their parents with a responsibility which the court had placed squarely on the school boards in its 1955 decision in the *Brown* case. The court required the Kent County board to formulate a new plan, based on other courses, such as zoning or school consolidation or pairing, which could be expected to promptly convert the system to a unitary one.[12]

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[10] *Green* v. *County School Board of New Kent County*, (Va., 1968) 88 S. Ct. 1689.
[11] *Ibid.*

Application to Louisiana Cases

Plaintiffs in Louisiana school segregation cases quickly sought to apply the *Green* decision to their cases in an effort to find a more speedy means of desegregating schools than that offered by freedom of choice. On August 20, 1968 a three-judge panel of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit remanded a number of cases to federal district courts in Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia and Texas for rehearings in light of the *Green* decision. Included were cases involving 19 Louisiana school districts. The lower courts were ordered to conduct hearings at the earliest practicable time, and no later than November 1968, to determine whether the school boards' existing plans for desegregation were adequate to convert their dual school systems to unitary systems and whether the plans "promise realistically to work now." The court stated that an effective plan should produce integration of faculties, staff, facilities, transportation and school activities (such as athletics), along with integration of students.

The appellate court laid down the following guidelines for the district courts to follow in determining the constitutionality of the school boards' plans. These guidelines also indicate what action the district courts should take should they find the school boards' plans are not working effectively to bring about unitary school systems:

> If in a school district there are still all-Negro schools, or only a small fraction of Negroes enrolled in white schools, or no substantial integration of faculties and school activities then, as a matter of law, the existing plan fails to meet constitutional standards as established in Green. Boards in such districts are under a duty to take affirmative action toward effective desegregation before the start of the 1968-69 school year or as soon as practicable after the commencement of that year. One alternative to freedom of choice is the assignment of students on the basis of geographic attendance zones. In an attendance zone system (as in a freedom of choice system), the school authorities should consider the consolidation of certain schools, pairing of schools, and a majority-to-minority transfer policy as means to the end of disestablishing the dual system. . . .
>
> Should the district court in a particular case conclude that the existing freedom of choice plan is not working but that it is not administratively feasible for the board to shift immediately to other alternatives, the court should require the board (1) to take forthwith such steps toward full desegregation as may be practicable in the first and second semesters of the 1968-69 school year, and (2) to

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[12] See discussions of these various methods of school desegregation in Chapter IV.

> formulate and submit to the court, by November 28, 1968, a plan to complete the full conversion of the school district to a unitary, nonracial system for 1969-70 school year. The courts should conduct hearings promptly on the Board's desegregation plans for 1968-69 and 1969-70; and the United States and the private plaintiffs should be permitted to make objections to the proposed plans. The district court should enter an order by such date as will permit effective review in this Court, if review is necessary, of the court-approved actions the Board will institute in the 1968-69 year as well as the 1969-70 year.[13]

Thus, in line with the Supreme Court decision of May 1968 in the *Green* case, the appellate court for the Fifth Circuit has ordered U. S. district courts in its circuit to require local school boards to submit plans for the full conversion of their school systems to unitary, nonracial systems by the 1969-70 school year. Since all Louisiana school systems are within the Fifth Circuit, this order could be made to apply to all school systems in the state which have been or will be brought before the courts in school desegregation suits and which have not yet submitted plans acceptable to the courts for conversion to unitary school systems. The *Green* decision and the subsequent order of the appellate court could have far-reaching consequences in hastening the desegregation of Louisiana's public schools.

Decision of the Western Division Judges

The first decision rendered by federal district courts in Louisiana after the issuance of the appellate court's order in the *Adams* case was an en banc decision handed down by the district judges for the Western Division of Louisiana, covering school systems in the northern, central and western parts of the state which have been sued. The decision, signed November 13, 1968, held that freedom of choice, under which the systems have been operating, "has real prospects for dismantling the dual system 'at the earliest practicable date,' especially in light of the substantial assignments of faculty members to schools of the opposite race, which naturally encourages students of both races to transfer." [14]

However, the court retained jurisdiction in the cases and stated:

> (5) There may be other courses which might be open to a board or boards which will meaningfully assist 'freedom of choice' in disestablishing the dual system. Each board should reassess its own system and on or before March 1, 1969, make a report to this Court as to what additional courses are open to it to bring about the end result required by the Supreme Court in Green.[15]

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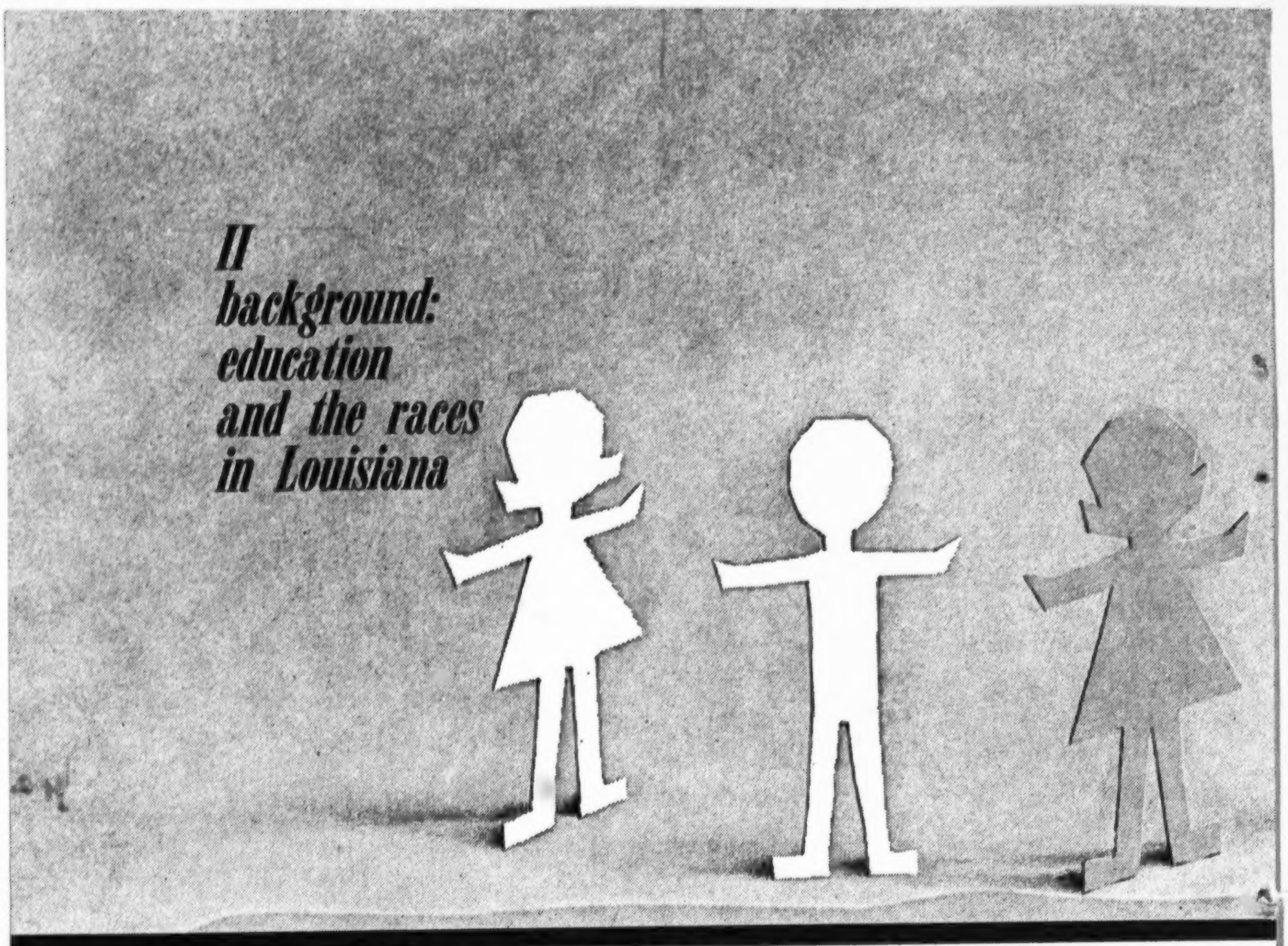
[13] *Adams, et. al., and U. S.* v. *Mathews, et. al.,* (5th Cir., 1968) No. 26501.

[14] Text of decision printed in *The Shreveport Times*, November 15, 1968.

[15] *Ibid.*

II

background: education and the races in Louisiana



In Louisiana approximately 32 out of every 100 persons, 39 of every 100 public school pupils, and 36 of every 100 public school teachers and principals are Negroes.[1]

By way of comparison, the U. S. Bureau of the Census reports that Negroes comprised 11 per cent of the nation's population in 1960 and 1966 and represented 12.4 per cent of all persons aged 6-24 enrolled in public schools in the United States in October 1966. Information is not available on the proportion of teachers in the nation's public schools who are Negro.

Over the past half century, the number of Negroes in Louisiana has increased, but the increase has not been as great as for the white population. As a result, the proportion of Negroes in the state's population declined from 43.1 per cent in 1910 to 31.9 per cent in 1960. (See Table 2.) The U. S. Census Bureau estimates the proportion of "nonwhites" in Louisiana's population in 1975 will be 31.9 per cent to 32.6 per cent, depending on the effects of interstate migration and fertility rates. According to these projections, the Negroes are expected to make up approximately the same proportion of the population in 1975 as in 1960. (Estimates are not

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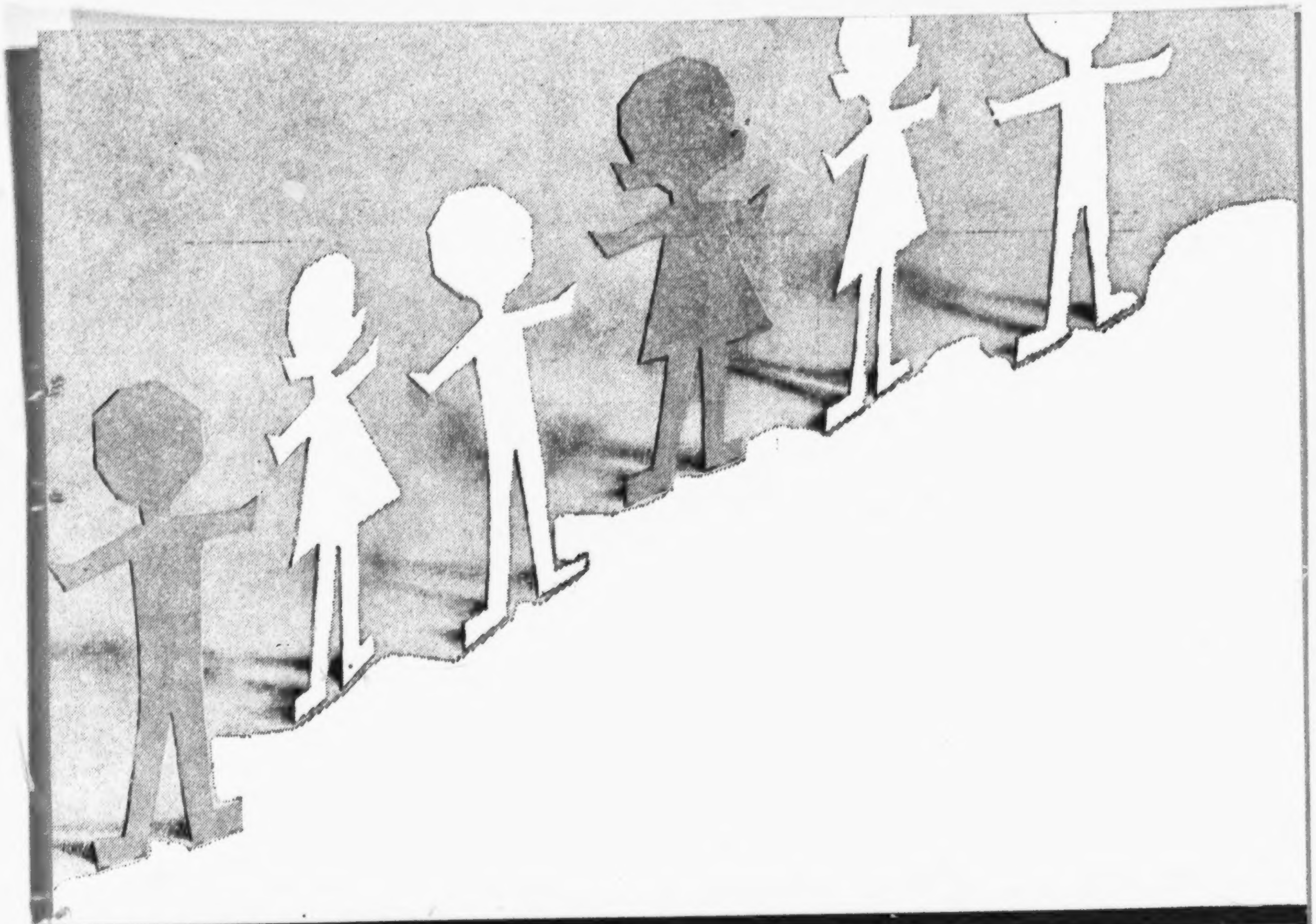
[1] As used in this report "public school" refers to public kindergarten, elementary and secondary schools.



made for Negroes as a separate group among nonwhites, but Negroes comprise such a large proportion of Louisiana's nonwhite population—99.4 per cent in 1960—that the estimate for nonwhites can be used as an indicator of the Negro population.)

During the period since 1910, Negro enrollment in the public schools increased faster than white enrollment, with Negroes comprising 30.5 per cent of public school enrollments in 1910-11 and 39.1 per cent in 1967-68.

Meanwhile Negro teachers and principals rose from a disproportionately small 18.7 per cent of all public school faculty in 1910-11 to 36 per cent in 1967-68.

There are two reasons for the higher proportion of Negroes in the public school enrollment than in the general population: (1) a greater proportion of the total Negro population is concentrated in school-age groups than is the case with whites, and (2) Negroes relatively make less use of nonpublic schools than whites do. For example, nonwhites comprised 36.3 per cent of the population aged 6-18 at the time of the 1960 census, as compared to 32.1 per cent of the total population.[2] Also, Negroes accounted for only 17.9 per

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[2] Census publications do not show the number of Negroes in the 6-18 age brackets, but give this data for nonwhites.

Table 2

NEGROES AS PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION, PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND FACULTIES, LOUISIANA, 1910-1967

Year	Total Population[1]	Negro		Total Public School Registration	Negro		Total P. S. Teachers & Principals	Negro	
		Number	Per Cent of Total		Number	Per Cent of Total		Number	Per Cent of Total
1910-11	1,656,388	713,874	43.1	283,466	86,526	30.5	6,403	1,195	18.7
1920-21	1,798,509	700,257	38.9	364,364	126,247	34.6	9,913	2,155	21.7
1930-31	2,101,593	776,326	36.9	437,109	154,772	35.4	12,287	3,071	25.0
1940-41	2,363,880	849,303	35.9	472,372	174,886	37.0	14,964	4,206	28.1
1950-51	2,683,516	882,428	32.9	495,001	191,284	38.6	17,400	5,528	31.8
1960-61	3,257,022	1,039,207	31.9	708,977	279,899	39.5	27,726	9,690	34.9
1967-68	....	....	....	863,038	337,225	39.1	37,792	13,622	36.0

[1] Population figures are for the decennial years.

Sources: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of **Population: 1960; General Population Characteristics, Louisiana,** Final Report PC (1)-20B (Washington: 1961).

Louisiana State Department of Education, **Annual Reports** for the sessions 1950-51 and 1960-61. Data prepared for 1967-68 annual report.

Table 3

OPERATING EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, LOUISIANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS[1]

Year	Cost Per Pupil
1910-11	$ 19.00
1920-21	41.00
1930-31	47.00
1940-41	58.00
1950-51	202.00
1960-61	389.00
1966-67	542.00
1967-68	618.00 (Est.)

[1] Based on total operating expenditures from all sources, including payments made by pupils and teachers for their school lunches.

cent of all nonpublic school enrollment in Louisiana in 1960-61. Thus Negroes, with a comparatively higher concentration of their population in the school age groups and a pattern of low use of nonpublic schools, were more heavily represented in the public school population than in the general population. The nonwhite proportion of the school-age population in 1960 (36.3 per cent) was very similar to the Negro proportion of all public *and* nonpublic school enrollment combined in 1960-61 (36 per cent).

A statewide public school system, adequately supported with state, local and federal revenues, is fairly new in Louisiana. As recently as the school year 1940-41, the average operating expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in all Louisiana public schools amounted to $58. As Table 3 shows, 26 years later, in 1966-67, this expenditure was almost 10 times greater, amounting to $542 per pupil in average daily attendance. The Louisiana State Department of Education estimated that the operating expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance for the school year 1967-68 was $618.

DIFFERENCES IN WHITE AND NEGRO SCHOOLS

Although Negro pupils have comprised from 30 to 40 per cent of the total enrollment in Louisiana public schools in the period from 1910 to date, there is every indication that they did not receive a like proportion of the state's educational resources. While the educational programs offered to many white public school pupils in the early part of this century were inadequate, the provisions for Negro pupils were considerably poorer. In many respects Negroes in Louisiana did not have a public education program worthy of the name until after World War II.

For example, the median length of the school session offered by public school systems in Louisiana for Negro pupils in 1910-11 was 80 days compared with 157 days for whites. The number of Negro pupils in average attendance per teacher was 49 compared with 25 pupils for white teachers. Eighty-nine per cent of all Negro public schools were one-teacher schools, and 66 per cent of all white schools were one-teacher schools. The average salary of Negro teachers was $183 per year and the average for white teachers was $502 per year. The average cost of instructional services per pupil in daily attendance was $3.76 for Negroes and $19.87 for whites. Inventory value of school plant and equipment per pupil amounted to $4.95 for Negro schools and $50.41 for white schools. (Table 4 shows selected statistics on white and Negro public schools in Louisiana in the period from 1910-11 through the year 1966-67.)

While the data presented in Table 4 goes back only to 1910, the inescapable inference is that there was much less in the way of public education for Negroes than there was for whites before that time. White residents of Louisiana possessed or could control most of the state's financial resources, and they devoted part of those resources to the task of setting up and maintaining public school systems. The greater part of this effort benefited white children. Negro residents of the state, who had at their disposal less in the way of resources and organizational experience than the whites had and who had not yet achieved any degree of political leverage, benefited less from the resources that were provided for education.

As Table 4 shows, there were significant differences in the amounts of money spent and in other measurements of the quality of education provided for Negroes and whites as recently as 1940, and some of these differences persist to the present date. For example, in 1940-41 the median length of the school session in the Louisiana systems was almost one-fourth greater for white children than for Negro children—180 days for whites as compared to 145 for Negroes. In that year, Negro teachers had almost one and a half times as many children in their classes on the average as white teachers had. Over half of all Negro public schools were still one-teacher schools in 1940-41. Less than one third of the Negro teachers had college degrees, while almost two thirds of the white teachers had such degrees. Because of the differences in college training and also because there was no state law requiring payment of the same salary to Negro and white teachers for comparable training and years of experience, the average salary of Negro teachers in the public schools amounted to 42 per cent of the average salary of white teachers.

In 1940-41, the average cost of instructional services per pupil in Negro schools was $16.20. In the same year, the cost of instructional services for pupils in white public schools was $56.86. Data is not available on the inventory value of white and Negro public school plants in 1940. However, 18 years ago in 1950-51, the inventory value of white public school plants was over three times as great on a per pupil basis as the inventory value of Negro plants—the white school facilities being valued by the State Department of Education at $578 per pupil while the Negro facilities were valued at $172 per pupil.

Several of these deficiencies have been corrected since the early 1940's and 1950's with major improvements being made in more recent years. For example, today both white and Negro public schools have an average session of 180 days. In 1966-67 a greater proportion of Negro public school teachers had college degrees than was true of white teachers. The difference in white and Negro pupil-teacher ratios has been narrowed considerably from what it was several decades ago. The one-teacher school has been practically wiped out, both for whites and Negroes. The average salaries of white and Negro public school teachers are comparable.

However, some notable differences still remain. For example, the inventory value of school plant and equipment per pupil in attendance was $801 in 1966-67 in Negro public schools as compared to $1,199 in white public schools. In 1960-61, the latest year for which such information is available by majority race of the school, the cost per pupil of instructional services was $208 in Negro public schools, while it was $258 in white public schools. In 1966-67 there were 9.8 library volumes per pupil in white pub-

Table 4

SELECTED STATISTICS ON WHITE AND NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, LOUISIANA, 1910-1967

	1910-11	1920-21	1930-31	1940-41	1950-51	1960-61	1965-66	1966-67
Length of school session (days):[1]								
White	157	169	174	180	180	179	179	180
Negro	80	104	111	145	178	179	178	180
Number of pupils registered:								
White	196,940	238,117	282,337	297,486	303,717	429,078	498,781	510,965
Negro	86,526	126,247	154,772	174,886	191,284	279,899	325,082	331,040
Average daily attendance as per cent of pupils registered:								
White	66.9	78.6	83.1	84.7	89.2	91.5	90.8	91.1
Negro	67.2	72.1	81.4	83.0	85.4	87.4	87.7	88.8
Number of teachers and principals:								
White	5,208	7,756	9,216	10,758	11,872	18,036	21,623	22,695
Negro	1,195	2,100	3,071	4,206	5,528	9,690	12,399	13,165
Number of pupils in average daily attendance per teacher:[2]								
White	25.3	24.1	25.5	23.4	22.8	21.8	20.9	20.5
Negro	48.7	43.4	41.0	34.5	29.5	25.2	23.0	22.3
Number of Schools:								
White	2,300	2,154	1,331	915[3]	791	900	929	945
Negro	1,086	1,354	1,593	1,696[3]	1,167	502	521	523

One-teacher schools as per cent of all public schools:								
White	65.7	39.3	23.4	9.1[3]	3.3	0.4	0.2	0.2
Negro	88.7	73.4	64.7	51.8[3]	34.4	2.0	0.6	0.2
Per cent of teachers having[1] bachelor's or higher degree:[2]								
White	N A	12.0	34.1[4]	65.0[4]	76.8	90.0	93.3	93.4
Negro	N A	10.0	11.0[4]	31.8[4]	68.1	96.8	98.1	97.4
Average salary of teachers and principals:								
White	$ 502	$ 1,036	$ 1,130	$ 1,220	$ 3,160	$ 5,263	$ 5,993	$ 6,542
Negro	183	429	463	512	2,726	5,041	5,827	6,530
Number of high school graduates:								
White	432	2,390	8,113[5]	15,468	11,106	19,254	27,297	27,239
Negro	N A	N A	591[5]	2,162	3,101	8,289	12,425	13,264
Number of high school graduates as per cent of average daily attendance:								
White	0.3	1.3	3.5	6.1	4.1	4.9	6.0	5.8
Negro	....	....	0.5	1.5	1.9	3.4	4.4	4.5
Inventory value of school plant and equipment per pupil in attendance:								
White	$ 50.41	$ 116.97	N A	N A	$ 577.86	$ 1,020.81	$ 1,132.92	$ 1,199.39[6]
Negro	4.95	27.06	N A	N A	171.52	668.87	772.27	800.94[6]
Cost of instructional services per pupil in attendance:[7]								
White	$ 19.87	$ 42.92	$ 45.63	$ 56.86	$ 147.15	$ 258.42	N A	N A
Negro	3.76	9.90	11.74	16.20	95.80	208.39	N A	N A

Table 4 (Continued)

	1910-11	1920-21	1930-31	1940-41	1950-51	1960-61	1965-66	1966-67
Number of library volumes per pupil in attendance:								
White	1.4	2.0	1.2	4.1	6.6	7.9	9.3	9.8
Negro	0.08	0.1	N A	N A	N A	5.2	6.5	7.6
Value of library books, supplies and equipment per pupil in attendance:[8]								
White	$ 0.76	$ 1.41	N A	$ 5.54	$ 9.78	$ 17.73	$ 24.68	$ 29.80
Negro	0.04	0.09	N A	N A	N A	10.80	16.41	21.62

NA—Not available.

[1] For years 1910-11 through 1950-51 represents length of school session reported for median school system when systems are arrayed by length of session. For years 1960-61 and thereafter represents computed mean days in session based on reported aggregate days of attendance and average daily attendance.

[2] Includes principals.

[3] For the school year 1942-43. Not reported for 1940-41.

[4] Per cent having a bachelor's degree or 4 years of college.

[5] Reported as graduates of state approved 4-year high schools only.

[6] Includes 1965-66 data for Orleans, which did not report inventory values of schools by race for 1966-67.

[7] For years 1910-11 and 1920-21 includes only expenditures for teachers' salaries; for later years includes salaries of elementary and high school teachers, costs of evening schools, supervision, tuition payments among parishes, and materials and supplies for teaching.

[8] Includes value of library volumes only for 1910-11, 1920-21 and 1940-41; thereafter includes value of volumes, supplies and equipment.

Sources: Louisiana State Department of Education, **Annual Reports** for years indicated.

———, **Louisiana School Directory, 1965-66 and 1966-67.**

lic schools and 7.6 library volumes per pupil in Negro public schools. The value of library books, supplies and equipment per pupil in average daily attendance was $29.80 in white schools and $21.62 in Negro schools. The number of high school graduates as a percentage of average daily attendance was 5.8 for white public schools and 4.5 for Negro schools.

Moreover, improvements in statewide averages or measurements sometimes obscure the fact that significant discrepancies still exist between white and Negro schools in some school systems and communities. These differences add greatly to the problems involved in desegregating the schools.

Value of School Facilities Per Pupil

One comparison of schools provided for Negro and white students is the investment in the physical facilities. Included in this as a prime consideration would be whether the facilities are over crowded.

Local public school superintendents report to the State Department of Education on the inventory value of school facilities in their school systems. This report covers the inventory value of school sites, buildings and equipment. Appendix Table I shows the inventory value of facilities per pupil as reported by the local school superintendents, based on pupils in average daily attendance in white and Negro schools in the 1966-67 school year.

As the table shows, the inventory value per pupil of school facilities was higher for white schools in 60 of the 67 school systems then operating and higher for Negro schools in seven of the 67 systems. The seven school systems with higher inventory values per pupil in Negro schools were Ascension, Cameron, St. Charles, St. James, St. John the Baptist, Vernon and West Baton Rouge.

In some cases the inventory value per pupil did not differ greatly in white schools and in Negro schools. Relatively small differences may be caused by the fact that schools for one race have been constructed more recently in some of the parishes than schools for the other race. However, in many of the school systems there were large differences. In 21 of the 67 school systems the inventory value per pupil in white schools was more than double the inventory value per pupil in Negro schools, and in some cases it was triple this value. (See Appendix Table I.)

Pupil-Teacher Ratios

Another standard or measurement generally used in determining the quality of a school system is the pupil-teacher ratio, that is, the average number of pupils per classroom teacher in the system. High pupil-teacher ratios usually indicate crowded schools, large average class size and a lack of individual attention to the pupils' learning needs because the teacher has too many pupils in her classes. Too large class sizes may affect the type of educational program which the teacher can present. For example, in an English or language arts class with 40 pupils, the teacher will have less opportunity to require written themes or class exercises because of the time involved in correcting papers of this number of pupils. Large classes also mean that the pupils have less opportunity to recite in class, and that they receive less individual attention generally. Some courses, and some of the class work in almost any course, can be taught or presented in large classes. However, educators believe that disadvantaged children are especially in need of individual attention from the teacher which is possible only with lower pupil-teacher ratios.

The average number of pupils per classroom teacher in all Louisiana public school systems in 1967-68 was 22.8 pupils per teacher in predominantly white schools and 23.1 pupils per teacher in Negro schools—an insignificant difference. Thirty-eight of the 66 Louisiana public school systems had higher pupil-teacher ratios in Negro schools than in white schools in 1967-68. The other 28 systems had higher pupil-teacher ratios in white schools. (See Appendix Table II.) In many cases the differences were slight. However, in 16 school systems the average pupil-teacher ratio in Negro schools was more than three pupils per teacher higher than the average ratio in white schools, while in seven school systems the average pupil-teacher ratio in white schools was more than three pupils per teacher higher than the average in Negro schools.

Factors other than school board policy may affect the pupil-teacher ratio of a particular school and therefore of the school system. Sudden and unforeseen fluctuations in enrollment may result in a school being either understaffed or overstaffed in a particular year, or on a longer term basis school officials may find it difficult if not impossible to employ new teachers in very rural or isolated areas. Or, in some parishes, a much higher proportion of all the pupils of one race may be enrolled in elementary grades than is true of the other race. Elementary classes usually have higher pupil-teacher ratios than high school classes. However, on a statewide basis the proportion of all white and Negro pupils enrolled in elementary grades does not differ greatly, with 71.4 per cent of all white public school pupils enrolled in grades 1-8 and 73.9 per cent of all Negro pupils enrolled in those grades.

Accreditation of Schools

Almost all public schools in Louisiana are approved by the State Department of Education. The department reports that in 1966-67 there were only 18 unapproved public elementary and high schools in the state. Approval by the State Department of Education is necessary before a high school may issue a diploma. In 1966-67 only one public high school, a white school, was without state approval. Standards for state approval of public schools are established by the State Board of Education and the State Department of Education.

In addition to having approval by the state department, many public schools, especially high schools, are accredited by the regional accrediting association. For Louisiana, the regional association is the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges. Standards for accreditation of public schools are established by commissions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. These commissions are composed of persons working in education in the several states which comprise the Southern Association. The states are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Accreditation by regional accrediting associations is usually considered more prestigious and more difficult to attain than approval by a state department of education. This is especially true in the case of high schools in the states served by the Southern Association. The association has had a commission on secondary schools since 1912 and has devoted a large part of its energy since its early years to developing standards for such schools and accrediting them. The association's program for accrediting elementary schools has only been in existence since the school year 1960-61.

Appendix Table III shows the number of public high schools in Louisiana in 1966-67 with grades through the twelfth and the number accredited by the Southern Association or approved by the State Department of Education only. The information is shown separately for white and Negro high schools.

For the state as a whole, the proportion of white public high schools accredited by the Southern Association was almost twice as great as the proportion of Negro public high schools so accredited. Three-fourths (75.1 per cent) of all white public high schools were accredited by the Southern Association; another 24.6 per cent had state approval only, and one school was unapproved. Among Negro schools, 39 per cent had been accredited by the Southern Association, and 61 per cent had state approval only.

In several of the school systems, all white high schools were accredited by the Southern Association while no Negro high schools were so accredited. These systems were Allen, Concordia, East Carroll, East Feliciana, St. Charles, St. Helena, St. James, Tangipahoa, Vernon, West Feliciana and Winn. There were no school systems in which no white schools were accredited while some Negro high schools were accredited. (See Appendix Table III.)

College Training of Teachers

Almost all teachers and principals in Louisiana public schools hold at least the bachelor's degree from a college or university. Only 6.6 per cent of the white teachers and principals and 2.6 per cent of the Negro teachers and principals did not have at least the first college degree in 1966-67. However, a higher proportion of white teachers and principals held master's degrees or had completed the master's degree and taken additional college work than was the case with Negro principals and teachers. The proportion of whites with the master's degree or higher was 27.4 per cent while that of Negroes was 17.9 per cent. (See Table 5.)

The college degree in itself is not a complete measurement either of the quality of the teacher's college training or of his ability. The quality of the work completed to obtain degrees varies with the institutions and with the individual schools and programs within the institutions. The depth and breadth of the individual teacher's learning also varies with his abilities and application. These observations are true regardless of the race of the teacher.

Table 5

COLLEGE DEGREES HELD BY PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS IN LOUISIANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966-67

Degree Held	White	Negro
No degree	6.6%	2.6%
Bachelor's degree	66.0	79.5
Master's degree or higher attainment	27.4	17.9

Some authorities in education in Louisiana feel that the degrees held by Negro teachers who have received their schooling in Negro public schools and colleges in this state do not represent the same level of educational achievement as the degrees held by most white teachers. They base this belief on the fact that Negro public schools have been neglected in the past and hence the quality of education provided by these schools has been inferior to that provided by many white schools. They argue that the same lower quality has necessarily characterized Negro institutions of higher learning in the state, which have had to work with the product of the Negro elementary and secondary schools.

There has been some substantiation of this belief in the experience of two large public school systems in Louisiana which have required teachers applying for employment to submit their scores on the National Teachers Examination. These systems have found that Negro applicants, with degrees usually from predominantly Negro colleges, have performed less satisfactorily as a group on the examination than white applicants, who have their degrees from predominantly white colleges.

Pupil Retention

Regardless of what their programs and objectives are, the public schools are unable to carry out their programs or attain their objectives unless pupils remain enrolled and in attendance at school during the number of years required to complete their studies. Therefore, the ability of the schools to retain their pupils is crucial if they are to attain their educational objectives.

One measurement of the ability of the public schools to retain their pupils, which has long been in use, is the percentage of enrollment remaining each year from an original first grade registration. This measurement is referred to as the "holding power" of the schools. It does not represent an attempt to follow individual pupils through their schooling, year by year. Rather, it deals only with numbers: the number enrolled in fourth grade at the beginning of this school year as a percentage of the number enrolled in third grade at the beginning of last year; the number in third grade last year as a percentage of the number in second grade the year before, and so forth.

These figures are only a rough measurement, since they have not been refined to account for any net gain or loss due to migration of families in or out of the state or to movement of pupils between the public and nonpublic schools. However, on a statewide basis they indicate changes over a period of time in the ability of the schools to retain pupils. It is assumed that the total number of graduates in any one year probably includes about the same number of persons who required more than 12 years to graduate as there were pupils not graduating on time.

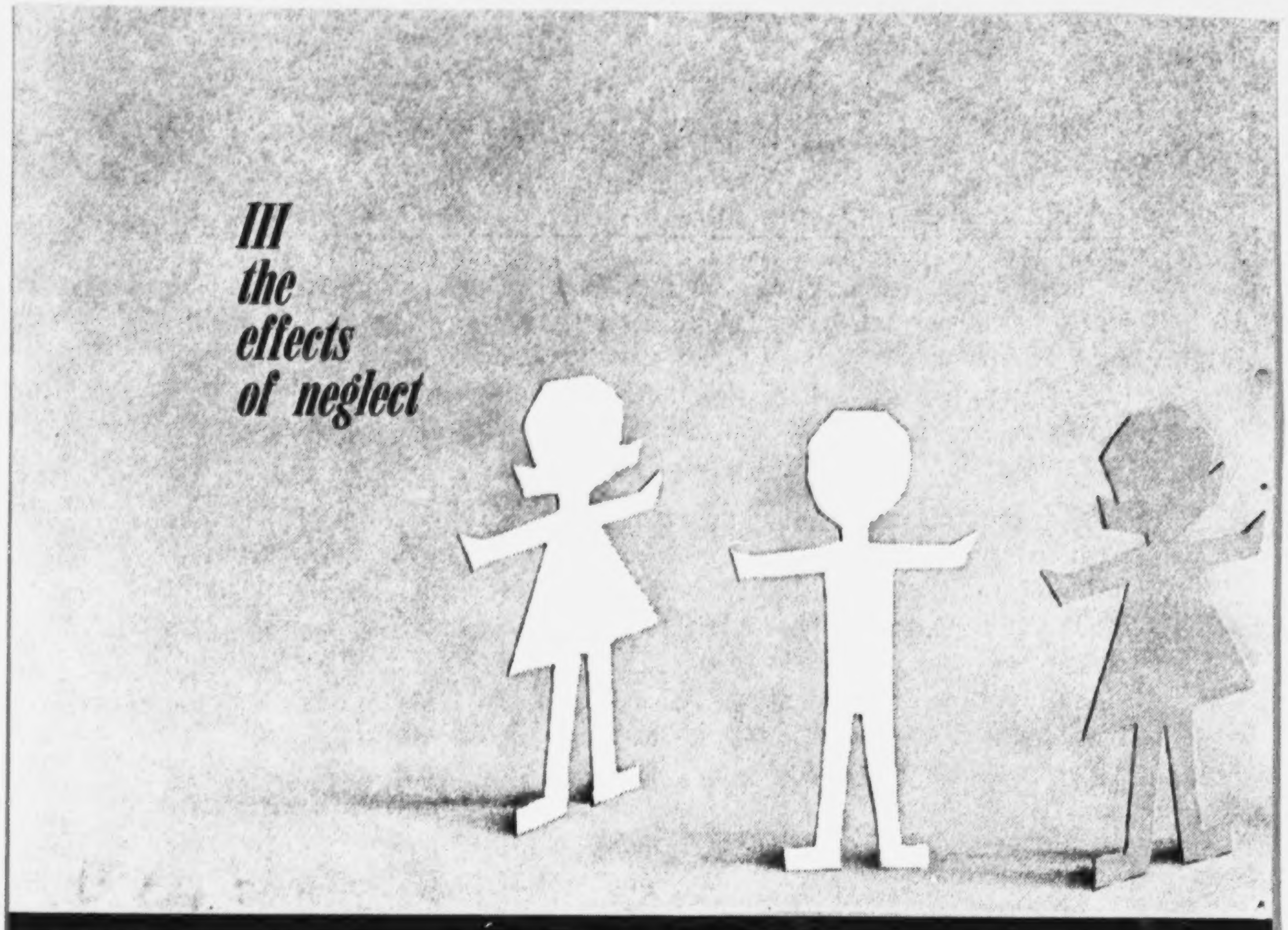
Appendix Table IV shows that white public schools have been much more successful than Negro schools in Louisiana in holding their pupils until they graduate from high school. The number of white high school graduates in 1967 equaled 68.6 per cent of the number of entrants into first grade 12 years earlier. Negro high school graduates in 1967 equaled 41.8 per cent of Negro first grade enrollment 12 years earlier. On the basis of this method, it could be said that the white schools were one and a half times as successful as the Negro schools in "holding" their pupils until graduation.

The table also shows that the holding power of Negro public schools in this state has increased tremendously in the past decade, with the 1967 percentage graduating being three times as great as the 1957 figure. As recently as 1957, the graduating class of Negro public schools in Louisiana represented only 14 per cent of the pupils who had enrolled in first grade 12 years earlier. Marked improvement in pupil retention occurred at each grade level from the beginning to the end of the 10-year period.

Significant improvements also took place in the holding power of white public schools in Louisiana during the past decade. However, built as they were upon a higher base, the changes in the white rate were not proportionately as great as those in the Negro rate. White schools began the decade in 1957 with a retention rate through high school graduation (46.5 per cent) which was higher than the rate achieved by Negro schools 10 years later (41.8 per cent).

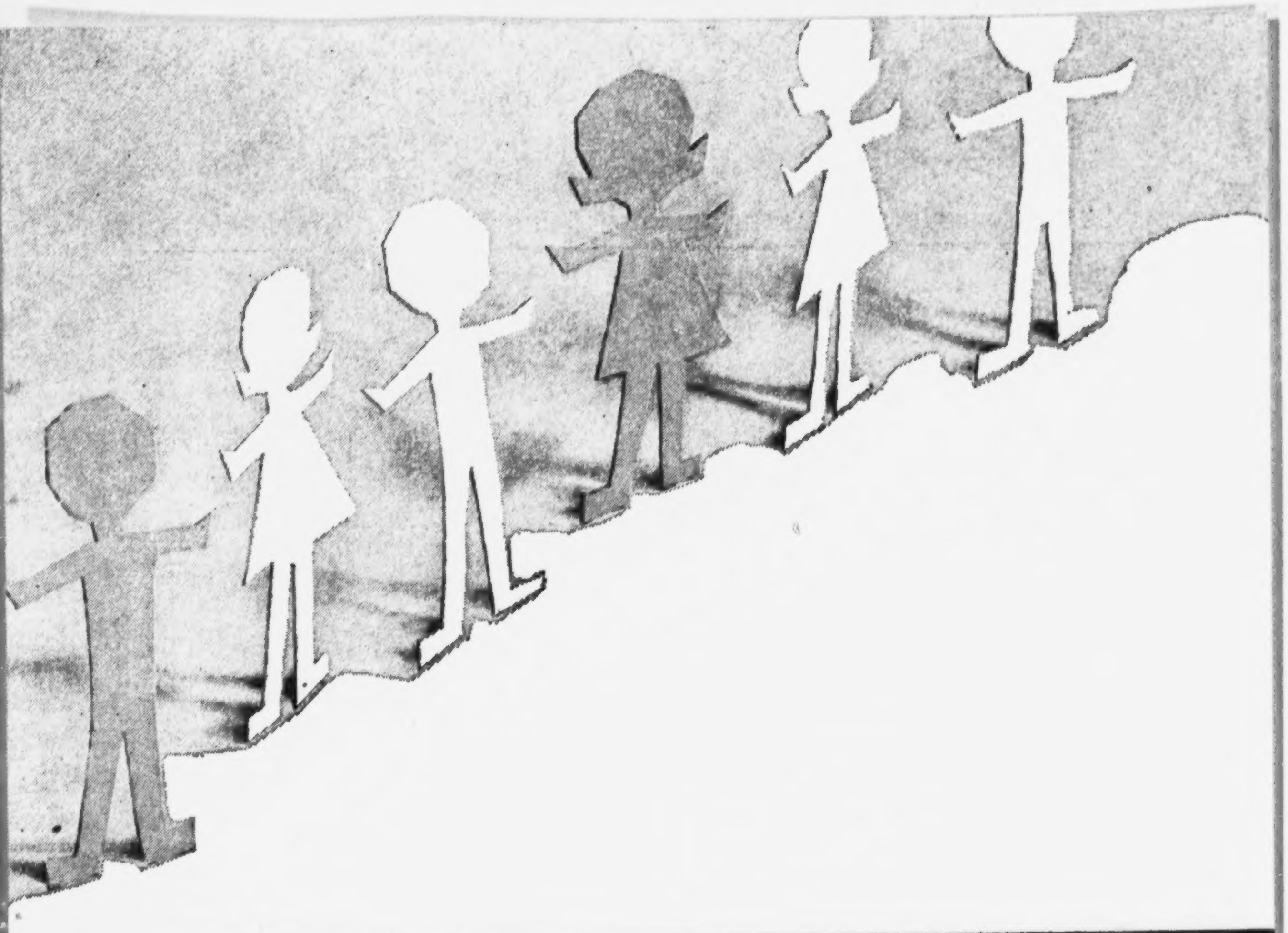
The great improvement in the power of Negro public schools to hold their pupils should not obscure the fact that even now only four out of 10 children who enter first grade in Negro public schools graduate from high school. As recently as 5 years ago this figure was three out of 10 graduating. This means that even among young Negro adults there are large numbers of persons who have not completed high school. Their employability, the lives they can make for their families, and their own children's motivations to achieve an education are all adversely affected by this lack.

III
the effects of neglect



Louisiana's long neglect in providing an adequate public education for many of its people has had a predictable result. Measurements of the educational attainment of Louisiana residents, white and Negro, have usually shown the state to be at or near the bottom in any comparison among states in the union. While the educational deficiencies of the past have affected both the white and Negro populations of the state, they have fallen especially hard upon the Negro citizens.

For example, the 1960 census showed that over one fifth (21.3 per cent) of all Louisiana residents age 25 and older had completed less than 5 years of school. The proportion of nonwhites age 25 and older who had completed less than 5 years of school was three times as great as that of whites, with 41 per cent of adult nonwhites and 13.6 per cent of adult whites at this low educational level. (See Table 6.) Louisiana had a higher proportion of such persons among its white population than any other state, and a higher proportion among Negroes than any state except South Carolina. For the United States as a whole, 23.5 per cent of the nonwhite population and 6.7 per cent of the white population had completed less than 5 years of school.



The state suffers the same disadvantage in the proportion of its adult population which had completed 4 years of high school. This is the basic qualification today for many jobs, both in white collar and blue collar fields. In 1960 slightly less than one third (32.3 per cent) of all adult Louisiana residents had completed high school. But while 41 per cent of all white adults in the state had completed high school, only 10.4 per cent of Negro adults had done so. The corresponding figures for the United States were 43.2 per cent of the white population and 21.7 per cent of the nonwhites age 25 and older with 4 years of high school completed.

These figures are of great significance as measures of the employability of the persons involved and also as indicators of their ability to function adequately as citizen-voters in a democracy. In addition, they are particularly significant in the present study for the insight they give of the parents of children in school today. Persons age 25 and older in 1960 constitute the greater part of the parents of elementary and secondary school children today. To a certain extent, the commitment of those parents to the ideal of obtaining an education for their children can be measured by the amount of education they themselves obtained. This relationship does not always hold true, of course. Many par-

Table 6
PROGRESS MADE BY LOUISIANA RESIDENTS IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, BY RACE, 1940-1960

	Persons Age 25 and Older					
	Whites			Non-Whites		
	1940	1950	1960	1940	1950	1960
Cumulative Percentages:						
4 years or more of college...............	5.1%	6.4%	8.4%	0.6%	1.2%	2.5%
4 years of high school or more...........	25.3	29.7	41.0	3.3	5.1	10.4
8 years of elementary school or more.....	51.5	59.3	68.5	12.2	18.5	31.6
Per Cent Completing Less Than 5 Years of School:................	22.6	18.9	13.6	61.5	53.9	41.0
Median School Years Completed:..........	8.1	8.8	10.5	3.9	4.6	6.0

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Louisiana, Final Report PC (1)-20C, (Washington: 1961).

ents who were unable because of circumstances to obtain a high school or college education are strongly committed to seeing their children do so. However, on the whole, parents who have themselves completed high school and college are more likely to encourage their children to do likewise and are more able to provide the type of home environment which stimulates intellectual interest and encourages learning.

The point can be made that many persons in the older age group have passed the age where they are likely to have children in school or college, and some have reached retirement years. These are the persons most likely to have lower educational attainments, and their lower attainments depress the educational level of the entire adult population. Nevertheless, even when the examination of educational attainment is limited to persons in the younger and middle-aged groups, the picture for Louisiana is not a particularly cheering one. For example, the population which was age 25 through 54 in 1960 is age 33 through 62 today. Within this age group would be found most parents of elementary and secondary school and college students, as well as the majority of gainfully employed men and women. A lower age limit of 25 is used because most persons are presumed to have completed their formal education by this age.

Figure 1 shows the amount of school completed by Louisiana white and nonwhite residents who were age 25 and older in 1960. The data are shown for age groups having 10-year spans.

The figure shows that 56.3 per cent of the nonwhite population and 22 per cent of the white population age 25-34 in 1960 had not completed even 1 year of high school. At that time, 73.3 per cent of the nonwhite and 31.2 per cent of the white population age 35-44 had not had any high school work or had not completed 1 year of such work. In the 45-54 age group, 84.2 per cent of the nonwhites and 46.1 per cent of the whites were similarly situated.

The higher educational attainment of each successively younger age group shown in Figure 1 indicates that the situation is improving. Table 6 also shows that progress has been made in education by Louisiana residents in recent years. However, it is still true that large numbers of parents of children in elementary and secondary schools in Louisiana today did not complete high school themselves, and many did not even finish 1 year of high school. These facts undoubtedly have an effect upon the home environment of many children in Louisiana schools today, and the figures indicate a negative effect for a greater proportion of Negro than of white children.

CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION

Educational psychologists believe that a person's ability to learn is affected by two main groups of factors or circumstances. One group has to do with the innate characteristics of the individual, including his potentials and aptitudes, the peculiar chemistry of his mental processes, and other factors. The other group has to do with the social and cultural environment in which the individual grows up and lives. This includes the environment of his home, his neighborhood, his school, his peer group, his workmates and, in fact, the total environment in which he operates.

The effects of these environmental factors were examined in a study of educational opportunity in this country, conducted at the request of Congress and published under the title *Equality of Educational Opportunity.*[1] The report on this study, published in

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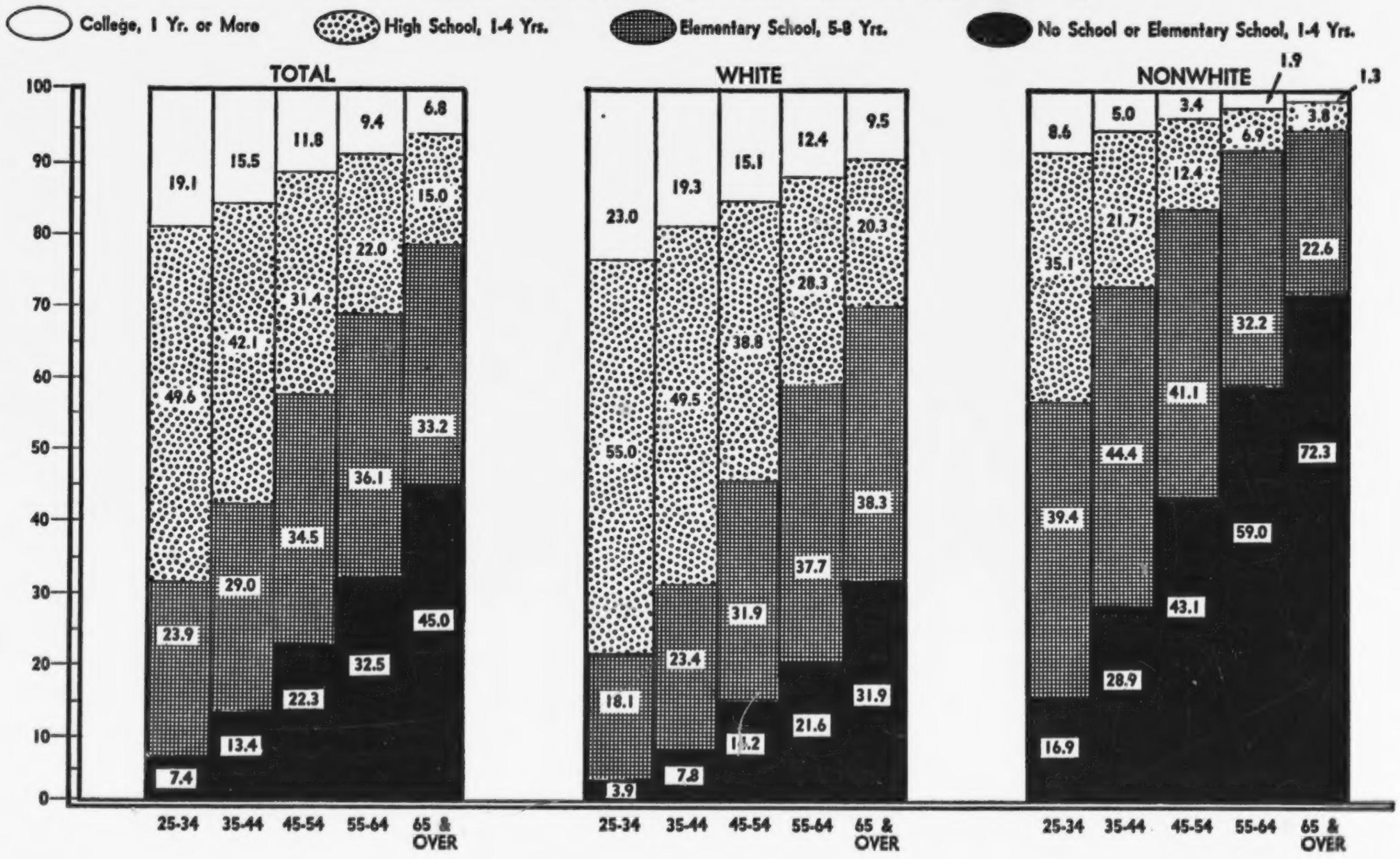
[1] Requested in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, P. L. 88-352, 88th Congress, Section 402. The study called for was carried out under the direction of Dr. James S. Coleman of John Hopkins University and Dr. Ernest Q. Campbell of Vanderbilt University. Staff work for the study was provided by the National Center for Educational Statistics of the U. S. Office of Education, by Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, and by teams of sociolo-

Figure 1

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OLDER IN LOUISIANA, BY AGE AND COLOR, 1960 (Per cent of Distribution)



1966 by the U. S. Office of Education, makes available the results of a massive survey of educational opportunity and attainment, covering six major racial and ethnic groups in this country, including whites and Negroes. Data obtained in the survey is presented for major regions of the country, but not on a state-by-state basis. Unpublished data from the survey is not available on a state basis.

Among the masses of survey and testing data included in the report is information on the results of several tests administered to students at the elementary and secondary school level, to college students who indicated an intention to go into teaching and students who did not intend to teach, and some tests administered to teachers.

In examining the results of these tests, it is important to be aware of the nature of the tests and of intelligence and achievement testing in general.

Psychologists have long recognized that their tests measure the effects of environment as well as innate abilities. This is true of tests used on children from the earliest ages onward. The richness or impoverishment of an infant's environment, as evidenced in the attention he receives from adults, in the playthings available to him and in the material furnishings surrounding him, are felt to have an effect on his intelligence measurements. As he grows older, the measurement of his intelligence depends even more on a familiarity with the predominant culture surrounding him and the symbols used in that culture.

Achievement tests, which measure what the child has learned, are very strongly oriented to the dominant culture of a society. In the United States, these tests reflect the learning necessary for success in a modern, urbanized, technological society, where intellectual competence is more important than manual skills. Children raised in environments which mirror such a society have a decided advantage in taking the tests; children raised in environments which are rural and nontechnical and where greater emphasis is placed on manual and unskilled work suffer a disadvantage.

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gists, attorneys and other specialists under the direction of faculty members of Florida State University, Northwestern University and the University of Wisconsin. Other universities and state departments of education and local public school systems were represented on an advisory committee which assisted in the design of the study and in establishing procedures for carrying it out.

The authors of the study *Equality of Educational Opportunity* describe these aspects of the achievement tests used in the study to measure educational attainment of children throughout the country and point out why they feel the tests are nevertheless valid instruments of measurements in our society:

> . . . the validity of achievement tests as predictors of future success in life probably differs sharply from rural to urban environments, and from manual to nonmanual occupations. However, as society becomes more urban, as occupations become less manual, the validity of such tests increases, just as the importance of school itself increases. Tests similar to those used in this survey are widely used for college admission, and are increasingly used for job placement. The facts of life in modern society are that the intellectual skills, which involve reading, writing, calculation, analysis of information, are becoming basic requirements for independence, for productive work, for political participation, for wise consumption. Such intellectual skills were far less important in the simpler rural society from which ours has grown, and, as in all such rural societies, the schooling to develop these skills was less important there. As will be evident in much of the data of this section, large portions of our current problems in education of the disadvantaged stem from this rural background and from the sharp transition our society has undergone.
>
> . . . Such tests are not in any sense 'culturally fair'; in fact, their very design is to determine the degree to which a child has assimilated a culture appropriate to modern life in the United States. Cultural disadvantage should show up most markedly in tests of this sort, because they are designed to measure performance in a highly technical and sophisticated culture.[3]

Results of Tests Given Pupils

Students were tested for the study in various aspects of educational achievement at the first, third, sixth, ninth and twelfth grade levels. Results of the tests are published in several series of statistical charts, graphs and tables. Probably the most readily comprehended statistical presentation of the tests results is that which shows the number of grade levels by which the various racial, ethnic and regional groups lag behind the achievements of the top achieving group of students. This top achieving group was composed of white students residing in metropolitan areas in the Northeast region of the country.

Three of the tests (verbal ability, reading comprehension and mathematic achievement) which were given to students in grades 6, 9 and 12, were scored in such a way that scores—before standardization to a 50-average, 10-standard deviation—were expressed in the same units for all three grade levels. The scores for the top achieving group of white students residing in the metropolitan Northeast were used as a norm, and other groups of students were shown as lagging behind this group by the grade levels indicated by their scores.

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[3] James A. Coleman, and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, U. S. Office of Education, 1966), 218.

Appendix Tables V through VII show that both white and Negro pupils in the South lagged behind their counterparts of the same race in most other areas of the country. This was particularly true in the case of white students in the nonmetropolitan or rural South and of Negro students both in the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan South.[3] White students in the metropolitan South compared favorably at some grades with some students in metropolitan areas in the Southwest and West, but not with the top achieving group in the Northeast nor with those in the Midwest.

Negroes in all regions of the country and in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas as well lagged behind whites whose residence was similar.

It is significant that the extent to which both whites and Negroes in the South lagged behind the top achieving group of white pupils in the metropolitan Northeast increased as the pupils advanced in grade level. (See Appendix Tables V-VII.) For example, white pupils in the nonmetropolitan South were seven tenths of a grade behind white pupils in the metropolitan Northeast in verbal ability test scores at the sixth grade level and 1-1/2 grades behind the pupils in the Northeast at the twelfth grade level. Negro pupils in the nonmetropolitan South were 2-1/2 grades behind white pupils in the metropolitan Northeast in verbal ability at the sixth grade level and 5.2 grades behind at the twelfth grade level. The lag of the southern students also grew worse at higher grade levels on the mathematics and reading comprehension tests.

This increasing lag indicates that the cultural and educational disadvantages suffered by southern students of both races (and particularly by Negroes) increase as the students advance in age and through school. In other words, the schooling received by white and Negro pupils in the South does not help them to overcome the cultural disadvantages caused by their home environments, and results in educational disadvantages.

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[3] For purposes of the study, a metropolitan area was defined as a city of over 50,000 inhabitants, including its suburbs. The South included the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia.

Teachers and Future Teachers

In the course of the study on *Equality of Educational Opportunity* several surveys were made of high school and college students who intended to go into teaching, and comparisons were made with similar students who did not intend to teach. Among other things these surveys attempted to learn the average number of high school courses in English, mathematics, social sciences, science and foreign languages which the students had completed; their average grades in high school English and mathematics; their overall high school grade average; and similar data. Both college freshmen and seniors who intended to teach were tested in various skills, as were freshmen and seniors who did not intend to go into teaching. One of the tests, on verbal competence, was also administered to high school freshmen and seniors and to teachers with varying years of experience.

Appendix Table VIII shows survey data collected from college seniors regarding their high school training. This table on college seniors reflects the differences between the answers obtained from white and Negro students as to their high school records. Much the same differences were shown by the data from ninth and twelfth graders in high schools and from college freshmen and seniors. The report itself makes these comparisons:

> When we make comparisons across racial lines, various types of evidence suggest that white future teachers at the college senior level, like those at the freshmen level, have better academic preparation. They took more foreign language, more social studies, more English, and more mathematics courses in high school; their high school grades were higher; they were more typically in the top track in English, more often in a college preparatory curriculum; they more often rate themselves as brighter than their fellow students; more (outside the South) were encouraged by their high school teachers to go to college. Only on one point are Negro FT's higher in both regions; they are more likely to study at least 3 hours per day.[4]

The same results are seen in comparisons of the test data. The average or mean scores of white students and teachers taking the various tests were invariably higher than the averages of the Negroes taking the tests. Also, the percentages of Negroes exceeding the white averages on the tests are much smaller than the percentages of whites exceeding those averages. These tests, too, are culture-oriented, and the averages attained by both white and Negro persons outside the South are higher than the averages attained by the same races in the South. In a few instances, in science and the fine arts, the averages of Negroes outside the South exceeded slightly the averages of white persons in the South. (See reports on tests of verbal competence and nonverbal reasoning ability and in mathematics, science, social studies and fine arts, in Appendix Tables IX and X.)

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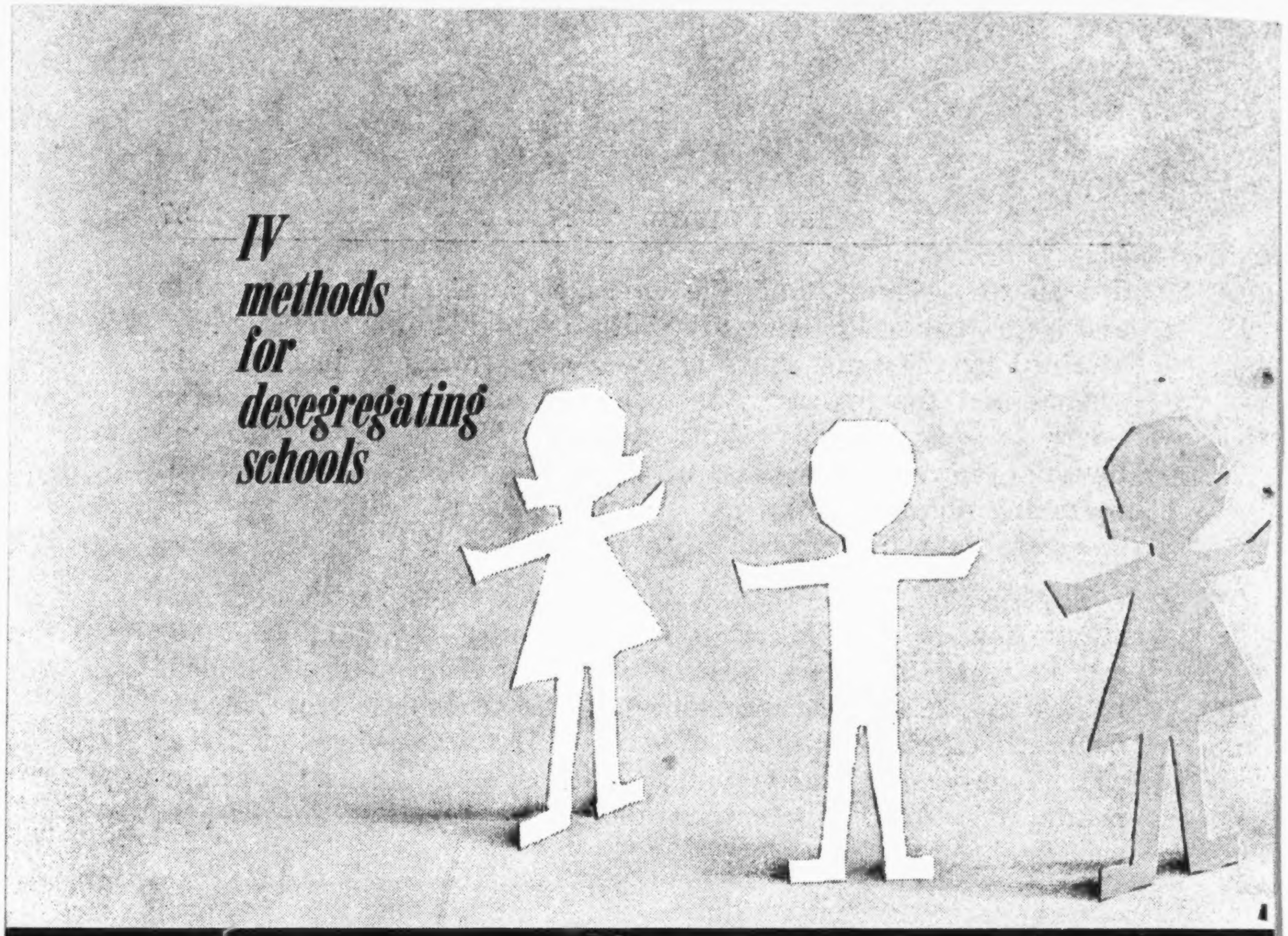
[4] Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, 342.

The results of the various tests and surveys reported in the study *Equality of Educational Opportunity* are significant for schools which face large-scale racial integration of their student bodies and faculties. The results indicate that these schools must be prepared to offer instruction to pupils with widely differing educational achievements and to utilize teachers whose attainments and capacities also vary more than would be the case in racially homogeneous schools.

IV
methods for desegregating schools

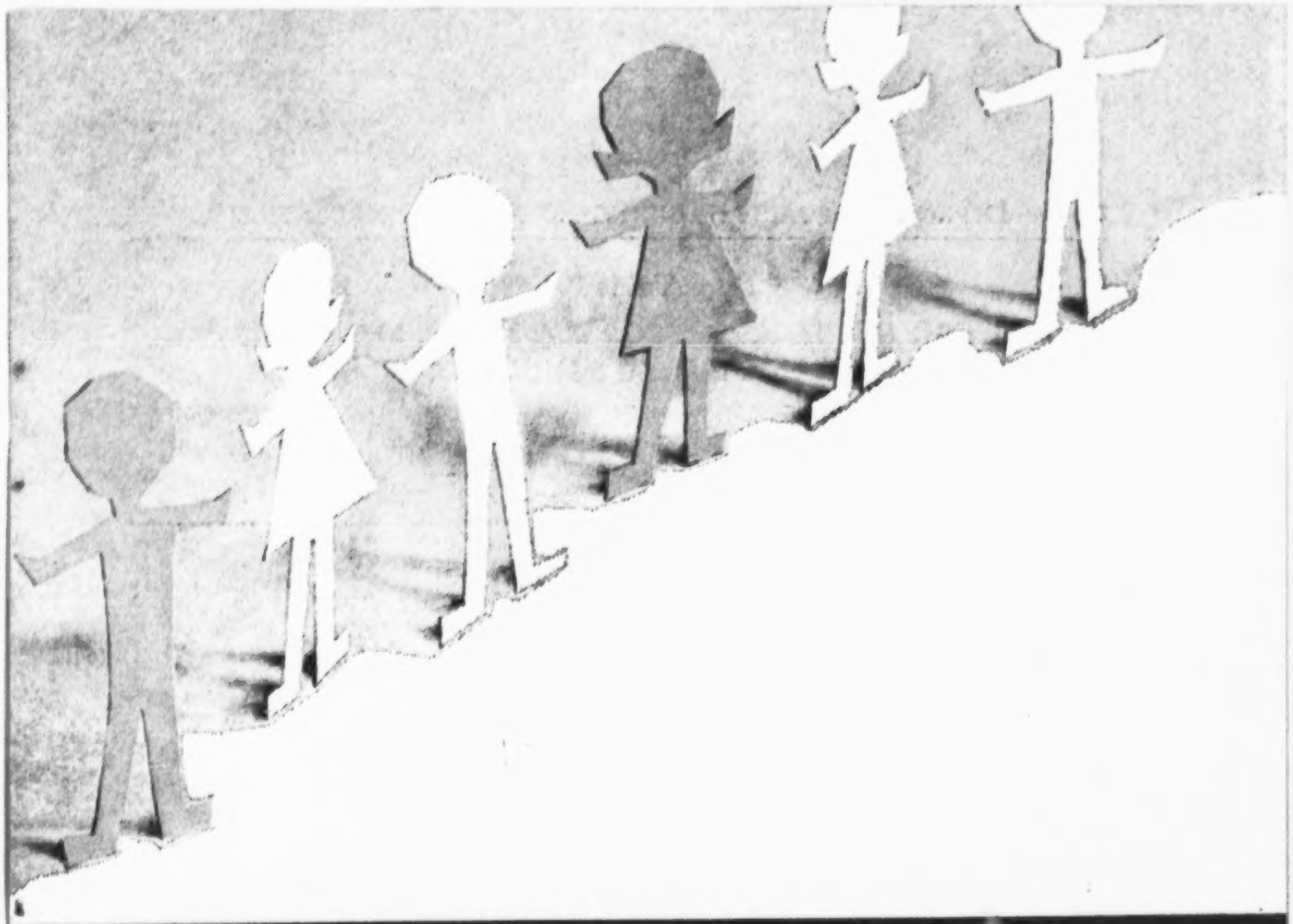


Pupil assignment is at the heart of desegregation of schools. This is especially true in states which formerly required by law the segregation of white and Negro pupils in separate schools. Such states, including Louisiana, now have "the affirmative duty under the Fourteenth Amendment to bring about an integrated, unitary school system in which there are no Negro schools and no white schools—just schools," as required by the *Jefferson* decision. Local school boards and officials must find the means of assigning pupils to carry out this order effectively without causing major disruptions in the school program and disastrous withdrawal of support by important segments of the community.

The Situation in the Parishes

The problems and effects of pupil desegregation will vary considerably among the public school systems in Louisiana. One of the principal reasons for this variation is the different racial composition of the systems. While the proportion of Negro pupils in all public schools in the state was 39.3 per cent in 1967-68, this proportion ranged from 6.7 per cent to 70.8 per cent of the student bodies in individual school systems. (See Table 7.)

Negro pupils comprised less than 30 per cent of the total pupil membership in 21 public school systems in Louisiana in 1967-68.



Most of these systems were located in the southwestern corner of the state and in the southeastern coastal area. A few were scattered through other parts of the state. (See Figure 2.)

On the other hand, 60 per cent or more of the student bodies were Negro in nine of the school systems. These included Orleans, three school systems bordering the state of Mississippi in the Florida parishes area, three in the upper delta and two others in north Louisiana. It is obvious that problems of pupil assignment and other problems attendant upon desegregation of schools will be much more difficult to solve in these systems with heavy concentrations of Negro pupils than in systems with smaller proportions of Negroes.

Nineteen of the 66 public school systems in operation in 1967-68, including the nine mentioned above, had Negro majorities in their total student populations. The only heavily urban system included in this group was Orleans. Among the other school systems with majority Negro student populations, only Madison was reported by the Census Bureau in 1960 to be more than 50 per cent urban in composition. Several of the other systems with majority Negro populations were found by the Census Bureau to be

Table 7

NEGRO PUPILS AS A PROPORTION OF ALL PUPILS, LOUISIANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1967-68

School System	Average Daily Membership of Pupils			Negro as Per Cent of Total
	White	Negro	Total	
Acadia	8,531	2,700	11,231	24.0
Allen	4,128	1,537	5,665	27.1
Ascension	5,872	3,127	8,999	34.7
Assumption	2,628	2,411	5,039	47.8
Avoyelles	5,902	3,330	9,232	36.1
Beauregard	4,522	1,577	6,099	25.9
Bienville	1,846	2,633	4,479	58.8
Bossier	13,296	4,055	17,351	23.4
Caddo	33,332	26,098	59,430	43.9
Calcasieu	27,884	9,664	37,548	25.7
Caldwell	1,530	768	2,298	33.4
Cameron	1,747	134	1,881	7.1
Catahoula	2,308	1,302	3,610	36.1
Claiborne	1,753	2,659	4,412	60.3
Concordia	3,702	3,188	6,890	46.3
DeSoto	2,521	4,021	6,542	61.5
East Baton Rouge	38,393	22,818	61,211	37.3
East Carroll	1,477	2,589	4,066	63.7
East Feliciana	1,325	2,901	4,226	68.6
Evangeline	5,596	3,256	8,852	36.8
Franklin	3,962	3,343	7,305	45.8
Grant	2,507	1,047	3,554	29.5
Iberia	9,638	4,861	14,499	33.5
Iberville	3,461	4,827	8,288	58.2
Jackson	2,377	1,528	3,905	39.1
Jefferson	42,984	12,099	55,083	22.0
Jefferson Davis	5,696	2,017	7,713	26.2
Lafayette	18,003	6,354	24,357	26.1
Lafourche	13,547	2,327	15,874	14.7
LaSalle	2,826	508	3,334	15.2
Lincoln	3,592	3,195	6,787	47.1
Livingston	7,792	1,455	9,247	15.7
Madison	1,306	3,175	4,481	70.8
Morehouse	4,447	5,030	9,477	53.1
Natchitoches	4,628	4,666	9,294	50.2
Orleans	36,400	70,804	107,204	66.0
Ouachita	12,609	4,801	17,410	27.6
Plaquemines	2,268	1,922	4,190	45.9
Pointe Coupee	2,522	3,574	6,096	58.6
Rapides	17,651	9,210	26,861	34.3
Red River	1,257	1,353	2,610	51.8
Richland	3,265	3,406	6,671	51.1
Sabine	3,059	1,448	4,507	32.1
St. Bernard	10,448	755	11,203	6.7
St. Charles	5,283	2,293	7,576	30.3
St. Helena	1,089	1,882	2,971	63.3
St. James	2,139	3,104	5,243	59.2
St. John the Baptist	2,495	3,296	5,791	56.9
St. Landry	11,389	10,669	22,058	48.4
St. Martin	4,657	3,433	8,090	42.4

Table 7 (Continued)

School System	Average Daily Membership of Pupils			Negro as Per Cent of Total
	White	Negro	Total	
St. Mary	9,932	3,615	13,547	26.7
St. Tammany	11,375	4,004	15,379	26.0
Tangipahoa	9,391	7,287	16,678	43.7
Tensas	1,093	2,226	3,319	67.1
Terrebonne	15,555	3,789	19,344	19.6
Union	2,632	2,167	4,799	45.2
Vermilion	7,799	1,596	9,395	17.0
Vernon	6,938	1,014	7,952	12.8
Washington	3,402	2,750	6,152	44.7
Webster	6,576	4,528	11,104	40.8
West Baton Rouge	2,317	2,394	4,711	50.8
West Carroll	2,740	990	3,730	26.5
West Feliciana	802	1,829	2,631	69.5
Winn	2,426	1,542	3,968	38.9
City of Monroe	5,732	5,289	11,021	48.0
City of Bogalusa	4,124	2,062	6,186	33.3
STATE	504,961	326,791	831,752	39.3

Source: As yet unpublished data prepared for the 1967-68 Annual Report of the Louisiana State Department of Education.

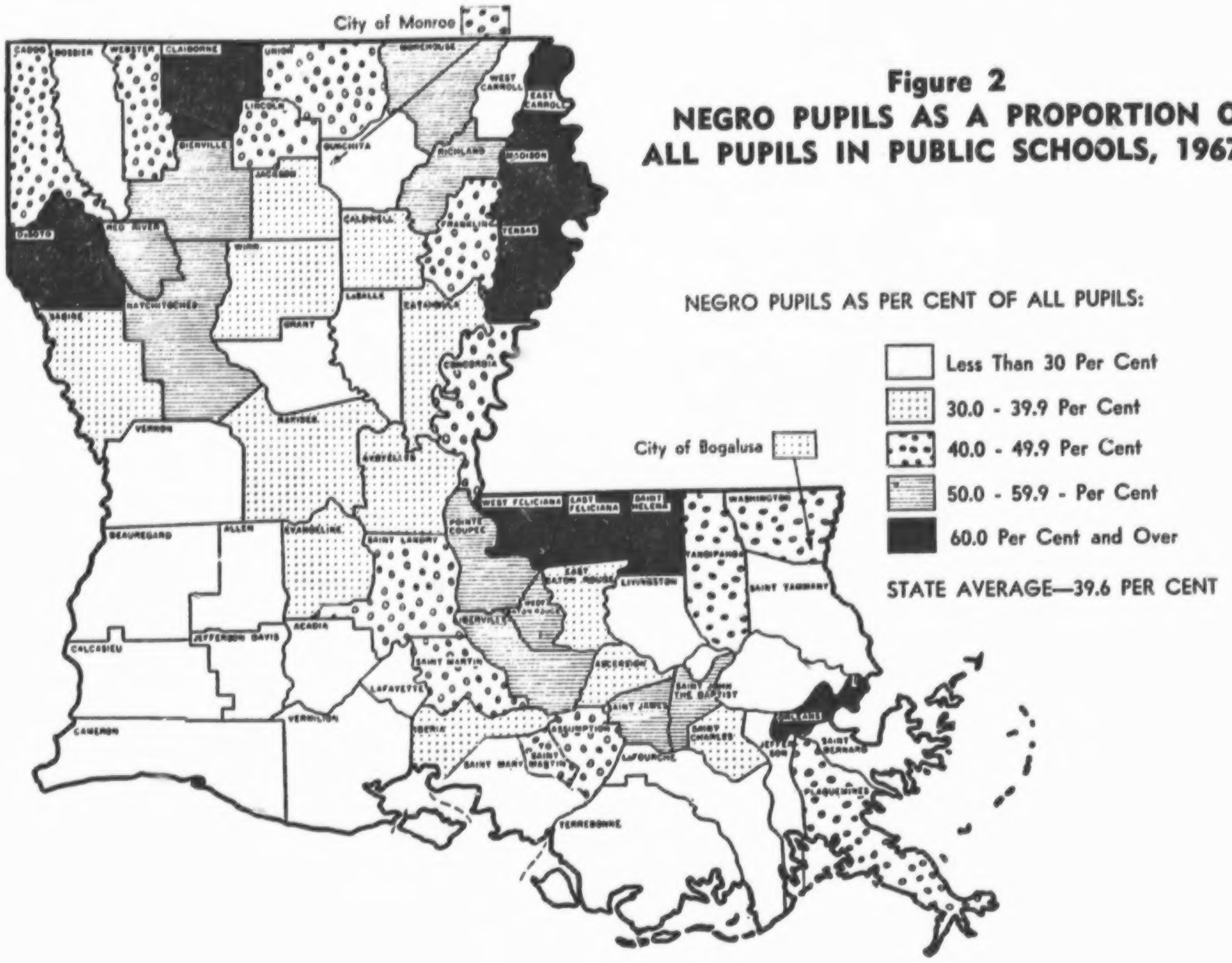
completely rural. These were East Feliciana, Red River, St. Helena, Tensas and West Feliciana. This contrasts with the situation in many states where school systems with heavy concentrations of Negro pupils are typically found in large cities or urban areas.

The 26 Louisiana school systems with 30 to 50 per cent Negro pupil populations were located in all regions of the state except the southwest. Some of these systems (as well as some systems with less than 30 per cent of the pupils Negro) also will have serious problems because of the concentration of their Negro populations in certain parts of the parish. For example, a parish in which Negro pupils comprise 35 per cent of the pupil population may have almost all of those pupils concentrated in one or two communities in the parish where they form majorities in the schools. While this situation is not as difficult to handle in desegregating as a systemwide majority of Negro pupils, it does create problems.

RESISTANCE TO MAJORITY NEGRO SCHOOLS

Those systems with majority Negro school populations face a particularly difficult task in desegregating their schools. No mat-

Figure 2
NEGRO PUPILS AS A PROPORTION OF ALL PUPILS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1967-68


City of Monroe
CADDO
BOSSIER
WEBSTER
CLAIBORNE
UNION
MOREHOUSE
WEST CARROLL
EAST CARROLL
LINCOLN
OUACHITA
BIENVILLE
JACKSON
RICHLAND
MADISON
CALDWELL
FRANKLIN
TENSAS
DE SOTO
RED RIVER
WINN
NATCHITOCHES
SABINE
LA SALLE
CATAHOULA
GRANT
CONCORDIA
VERNON
RAPIDES
AVOYELLES
City of Bogalusa
WEST FELICIANA
EAST FELICIANA
SAINT HELENA
WASHINGTON
POINTE COUPEE
BEAUREGARD
ALLEN
EVANGELINE
SAINT LANDRY
EAST BATON ROUGE
LIVINGSTON
TANGIPAHOA
SAINT TAMMANY
WEST BATON ROUGE
IBERVILLE
ACADIA
JEFFERSON DAVIS
CALCASIEU
SAINT MARTIN
ASCENSION
SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST
LAFAYETTE
SAINT JAMES
ORLEANS
SAINT CHARLES
CAMERON
VERMILION
IBERIA
ASSUMPTION
SAINT MARTIN
SAINT MARY
LAFOURCHE
JEFFERSON
SAINT BERNARD
PLAQUEMINES
TERREBONNE

NEGRO PUPILS AS PER CENT OF ALL PUPILS:

☐ Less Than 30 Per Cent
░ 30.0 - 39.9 Per Cent
⁘ 40.0 - 49.9 Per Cent
▤ 50.0 - 59.9 - Per Cent
■ 60.0 Per Cent and Over

STATE AVERAGE—39.6 PER CENT

ter how objectively and carefully their desegregation plans are drawn, there is no possibility of avoiding schools in which the majority of the pupils and faculty are Negro. For these systems, this represents a "racial balance" in their schools.

Strong resistance to such a situation can be expected from white parents in these school systems. Experience around the country has shown that many white middle-class parents, no matter what their feelings about school desegregation in the abstract, have been unwilling to see their children placed in schools in which Negro pupils were in the majority. Such parents, even some with a liberal or tolerant attitude toward desegregation, have been concerned over the effects upon their children's education of being placed in majority Negro schools. The white families have reacted by moving out of areas which have majority Negro schools or by placing their children in private schools.

In communities where strict segregation of the races, in education and in most aspects of life, has been the custom for decades, the resistance of white parents can be expected to be much greater. Here concern over educational outcomes is fed by long-held negative attitudes toward the Negro—attitudes which are partly based on observation of the effects of that same educational and cultural deprivation which desegregation is intended to help overcome. Given these circumstances, it is not to be expected that white parents will acquiesce easily in action which may result in their children being placed in schools where as much as two thirds of the pupils are Negro. Like white families elsewhere, they will move to largely white suburbs or neighborhoods or place their children in private schools, causing the abandoned schools to become even more heavily segregated.

Somewhat surprisingly, these parents can find support for their resistance to majority Negro schools from some of the leading proponents of school desegregation who, however, approach the question from a different point of view. These supporters of desegregation are convinced that school desegregation will not be effective in improving educational opportunities for Negroes and in moving them into the mainstream of American life unless the desegregated schools remain majority white.

For example, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the country's foremost official proponent of equal opportunities for Negroes, has called upon Congress to establish uniform standards providing for the elimination of racial isolation in the schools and has recommended that any school with more than 50 per cent Negro enrollment be considered racially imbalanced. The recommendation is made in the Commission's 1967 report, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools:*

> 1. Congress should establish a uniform standard providing for the elimination of racial isolation in the schools.
>
> . . .
>
> In prescribing a reasonable standard, there is much to commend the criterion already adopted by the legislature in Massachusetts and the Commissioner of Education of New York, defining as racially imbalanced, schools in which Negro pupils constitute more than 50 per cent of the total enrollment. . . .[1]

Enforcement of this criterion would not be possible in some Louisiana school systems which have majority Negro student enrollment.

The commission's recommendation is based upon findings in the Coleman study and in its own report that Negro pupils fare better in majority white schools than they do in all Negro or majority Negro schools.[2] The commission summarized these findings as follows:

> The outcomes of education for Negro students are influenced by a number of factors including students' home backgrounds, the quality of education provided in their schools, and the social class background of their classmates. In addition to these factors, the racial composition of schools appears to be a distinct element. Racial isolation in the schools tends to lower students' achievement, restrict their aspirations, and impair their sense of being able to affect their own destiny.
>
> By contrast, Negro children in predominantly white schools more often score higher on achievement tests, develop higher aspirations, and have a firmer sense of control over their own destinies.
>
> Differences in performance, attitudes, and aspirations occur most often when Negroes are in majority-white schools. Negro children in schools that are majority-Negro often fail to do better than Negro children in all-Negro schools. In addition, the results stemming from desegregated schooling tend to be most positive for those Negro children who began their attendance at desegregated schools in the earlier elementary grades.
>
> An important contributing element to the damage arising from racially isolated schools is the fact that they often are regarded by the community as inferior institutions and students and teachers

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[1] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, (Washington, 1967), I, 209.

[2] *Ibid.*, 73-114. James A. Coleman, and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, U. S. Office of Education, (1966).

> sense that their schools are stigmatized. This has an effect on their attitudes which influences student achievement.[8]

Identification of Schools

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights' report points up another problem which will make the task of Louisiana school officials more difficult in desegregating schools. That problem arises from the long standing identification of individual schools in each system as "white schools" and "Negro schools."

In Louisiana, as in other parts of the country, Negro schools have frequently been regarded as inferior to white schools, especially by white persons in the community. This attitude came into being in Louisiana during the long period of time when very little of the financial resources and trained personnel available to the schools were devoted to Negro education. It has continued into the present when allocation of financial resources is more equitable but many Negro schools are still struggling with the problems of student bodies composed largely of educationally and culturally disadvantaged children.

The existence of this attitude toward Negro schools even in areas outside the South is reflected in statements made to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights at hearings in Boston, Cleveland and Rochester. The commission reported:

> In part, the relationship between racially isolated schools and poor performance and low self-esteem is based upon the fact that predominantly Negro schools are generally regarded as inferior by the community. James Allen, Commissioner of Education for the State of New York, pointed out at the Commission hearing in Rochester that:
>
> '. . . The all-Negro schools . . . are looked upon by the community as being poor schools. . . . No matter what you do to try to make them better, in the minds of most white people in these communities, they are poor schools.'
>
> At other Commission hearings parents and teachers often testified that predominantly Negro schools are stigmatized institutions.
>
> . . . At the Cleveland hearing, one teacher, asked how he felt when he was informed that he had been assigned to a school that was 95 per cent Negro, replied:
>
> 'Well, I think I was a little bit disappointed personally. I knew . . . that any time a school is predominantly Negro . . . that there is a stigma that goes with it, that it just can't be first class. I not only feel that this is true in the minds of Negroes, but also in the minds of most whites.'

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[8] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, 113-114.

> There is evidence that this affects the attitudes and performance of many teachers in majority-Negro schools. At the Commission hearing in Rochester, Franklyn Barry, Superintendent of Schools in Syracuse, N. Y., testified that in such schools teachers often 'average down' their expectations of the students. A study of schools in Harlem discussed the low teacher expectations there, and concluded that:
>
> > 'The atmosphere stemming from such expectations cannot be conducive to good teaching, and is manifest in friction between teachers, abdication of teaching responsibilities . . . and a concern with discipline rather than learning. . .'[4]

The belief that Negro schools are inferior has contributed toward making pupil assignment under freedom of choice largely a one-way movement in Louisiana—from Negro schools to white schools. This one-sidedness has severely limited the effectiveness of free choice as a method for establishing unitary school systems. All of the Negro schools in 58 of the 66 Louisiana public school systems still remained totally segregated as to pupils in October 1968; that is, no white pupils had chosen to attend these schools. (See Table 1.)

While faculty desegregation has not been as one-sided as pupil desegregation, apparently the amount of teacher desegregation which has taken place has not been sufficient to weaken or eliminate the identification of individual schools as "white" or "Negro" schools. A greater desegregation of faculties might make community acceptance of pupil desegregation easier.

METHODS OF DESEGREGATING SCHOOLS

Several methods of pupil assignment other than freedom of choice have been used by school systems as means of desegregating their schools. They include: geographic attendance zones, reorganization of schools or grade structures (sometimes referred to as school "pairing"), reassignment of pupils from closed schools to overcome racial imbalance, open enrollment, bussing and educational parks. These methods vary greatly in the extent of the change they would cause in pupil assignment practices in Louisiana and also in their probable effectiveness in bringing about unitary school systems or eliminating school segregation based on residential patterns.

Geographic Attendance Zones

Geographic attendance zones are in essence the single attendance zones for pupil assignment purposes which have been in use for many years in unitary school systems. This method establishes a zone or district around each school with the intent that all children at the grade levels served by the school living in the zone shall attend that school. Louisiana school systems have had in the past, and some still have, what are considered attendance zones for schools. However, in this state the attendance zone for a white school has been effective only for white children living within the area served by the school, while the attendance zone for a Negro school has been effective only for the Negro children living within the area served by the Negro school.

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[4] *Ibid.*, 104-105.

Geographic zoning has been mentioned by both the U. S. Supreme Court and the appellate court for the Fifth Circuit as a means by which a school board can move rapidly to establish a unitary nonracial school system. The U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare also listed zoning as a method for eliminating dual school systems in its March 1968 guidelines for school desegregation. The department stressed that, to the extent it is administratively feasible, zone boundaries should be drawn so that they eliminate the dual system.[5]

There is little doubt that geographic attendance zones would result in considerably more school desegregation in many areas of Louisiana than the freedom of choice method has brought. Under freedom of choice desegregation depends entirely upon the willingness of the pupil and his parents to seek entrance to a school formerly reserved for pupils of another race, a step which places the pupil in the unpopular position of an interloper. Geographic zoning removes the onus for desegregating schools from the pupil and his parents and places it upon school officials who are answerable to the courts for taking steps to bring about desegregation.

However, the effectiveness of any geographic zoning plan in eliminating desegregation depends on the following factors: (1) the residential patterns of whites and Negroes within the school system, (2) the location of schools, (3) the extent to which the zones are drawn in a racially blind fashion, or to promote or prevent desegregation, (4) the extent to which pupils are allowed to transfer from schools in their attendance zones to schools outside their zones, and (5) the use of other methods, such as bussing, school consolidation or school pairing, in combination with zoning to achieve a greater degree of desegregation in some schools.

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[5] U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, "Policies on Elementary and Secondary School Compliance With Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," March 1968.

One of the main problems in the use of geographic attendance zones arises from the fact that the zones, especially if they are drawn so as to "permit, as far as possible, attendance nearest to each pupil's home," may perpetuate almost total segregation in some schools. This will be the case for attendance zones drawn around schools located in the heart of Negro residential areas where there are few, if any, white residents. It will also be the case for geographical attendance zones drawn around schools in white suburbs where there are few, if any, Negro residents. In some school systems, particularly large urban systems, the use of geographic attendance zones could result in school desegregation primarily affecting white children from homes in lower socio-economic classifications and relatively small numbers of Negro children out of the total Negro population. The most educationally and culturally deprived or disadvantaged Negro children in the slum areas would not be affected by desegregation, and neither would the most culturally and educationally advantaged white children in the suburbs.

Another difficulty which may arise from the use of geographic attendance zones for pupil assignment purposes in many areas in Louisiana is the lack of community acceptance of any plan assigning white pupils to formerly Negro schools. This will be a problem especially with those schools which are located in the midst of Negro residential areas where there are few, if any, white residents. The long-time identification of these schools as "Negro schools" and the attitude of the white community toward such schools will make assignment of white pupils to the schools a difficult task for elected school boards in many parishes.

School Pairing

Another method of achieving school desegregation calls for the reorganization of schools or of grades within two or more schools. This is also known as the "Princeton plan" because it was first used in Princeton, New Jersey, or in some parts of the country as "school pairing."

Under this plan, two schools with students of different races at the same grade level are combined into one attendance zone or area. For example, the attendance of a white elementary school with grades 1 through 6 and a Negro elementary school with the same grades might be combined. The grade structure of the two schools would then be reorganized so that all children in grades 1 through 3 would attend one school, while all children in grades 4 through 6 would attend the other school. A similar reorganization could be used for a formerly all white high school and a formerly all Negro high school, with perhaps all students in the seventh, eighth and ninth grades attending one school and all students in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades attending the other school. Each of the schools would draw all children, of either race, from its larger attendance area. Desegregation would be total at all grade levels so far as pupils are concerned.

This method of pupil assignment has certain educational advantages which are quite apart from any consideration of desegregation of pupils. The number of pupils at a given grade level in the schools is increased, thereby making possible extensive course offerings for the grade level, the use of more specialized facilities and equipment, greater teacher specialization, greater flexibility in scheduling and grouping pupils, and other advanced educational practices. This arrangement also eliminates problems which arise from the presence on one campus of children of widely divergent ages, as for example first graders and sixth graders at the same school site and seventh graders and high school seniors on the same school campus.

This type of school reorganization also has a financial advantage in that it allows the utilization of all existing school buildings which are in sufficiently good condition to be used. Some changes in facilities may be needed when buildings are converted to use for different grade levels than they were originally built to house. However, where renovations and repairs are needed, they are usually less expensive than the acquisition of new sites and the construction of new school plants.

This form of reorganization does have the disadvantage of requiring white pupils to attend schools which are identified by the community as formerly Negro schools. It may also have an additional disadvantage in some communities in that more children may have to be bussed longer distances, since white children may have to be bussed to the formerly Negro school when they were within walking distance of the formerly white school and Negro children may have to be bussed to the formerly white school when they were within walking distance of the formerly Negro school.

Reorganization of grade levels is known as "school pairing" in some parts of the South and in border states. This system has been tried successfully in several Kentucky school systems, among them those serving the counties of Hopkins, Nelson, Todd and Trigg, and the Glasgow and Paducah independent school districts.

On visits to the Trigg County and Paducah school systems in the 1967-68 school year, a PAR staff member was given descriptions of the school pairing programs in operation there. Officials of both systems were satisfied with the acceptance of the programs by their pupils, faculties and communities.

In Trigg County the school pairing followed establishment of a school park in Cadiz, the county seat. Almost all of the county's 1,900 pupils are bussed into this park near the corporate limits of Cadiz. On this site are located the county's senior high school (grades 9-12), its junior high (7-8) and one of its elementary schools. The elementary school in the park houses all pupils in grades 1, 2, 5 and 6. A formerly all-Negro elementary school, which is about one-quarter mile from the park, was paired with the formerly white elementary school in the park and now houses all pupils in grades 3 and 4. These grades were selected for housing in the formerly Negro school because their combined enrollments matched the capacity of the building. The junior and senior high schools are also totally desegregated.

Twenty-five per cent of Trigg County's pupils and 11 per cent of its teachers were Negro (1966-67 data). Two of the county's Negro teachers taught in the formerly Negro elementary school, eight taught in the elementary and senior high schools in the park, and one served all schools as an art teacher.

In the Paducah Independent School District two previously Negro schools, an elementary and a high school, located within a block of each other, were converted into an elementary center. The two schools house all white and Negro elementary pupils within what were previously two geographical attendance districts. One school has an ungraded primary unit, and the other has grades 4-6. Pupil desegregation at these levels is complete.

The two junior high schools in the Paducah Independent School District were not paired at the time of the PAR staff visit. The student body of one school was 6.2 per cent Negro in 1966-67 and the other was 35.9 per cent Negro. The district has only one senior high school.

Negro pupils comprised 21.6 per cent of total enrollment in the Paducah Independent School District in 1966-67, and Negro teachers made up 15.1 per cent of the faculty. Negro teachers served in all of the district's schools.

Reassignment of Pupils from Closed Schools

Another means of eliminating dual school structures which has been mentioned in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare guidelines calls for assigning pupils from closed schools to other schools in such a manner as to bring about desegregated student bodies. This could be done when two or more schools were consolidated and their student bodies moved to an existing or a new school site. It could also be done when a small school was closed because of its declining population and the remaining students were removed to a larger nearby school.

Bussing

Pupil desegregation may also be achieved by bussing students from schools of one race to those of another race. For example, students might be bussed from an overcrowded Negro school to a nearby white school which has fewer students than it was designed to accommodate. This arrangement would not only bring about some of the pupil desegregation required by the courts, but it would also relieve the school board from having to purchase or rent temporary classrooms for the overcrowded school or build additional facilities there, and it would make use of unused capacity at the other school.

Open Enrollment

Another method of achieving pupil desegregation is the open enrollment method used in some northern and western school systems. Basically, this method is very similar to the freedom of choice method allowed by the courts in formerly segregated southern school systems. Open enrollment permits students who would normally be assigned to one school to enroll in another, provided there is room in the school of their choice. For some years now, school systems outside the South have used this as a means of allowing pupils from Negro schools, primarily in slum areas, to enroll in largely white schools in other areas of the city or school district, if there was room for them.

One difference between open enrollment and freedom of choice is that in many cases school systems which allow open enrollment do not provide transportation for children who wish to transfer to schools some distance from their homes. On the other hand, in most cases, the federal district courts have required that school systems operating under freedom of choice provide transportation to pupils who choose schools at some distance from their homes, if transportation is provided to most children at these grade levels.

Educational Parks

Although there are wide differences among the various types of school arrangements which have been christened as educational parks, all such arrangements have a common concept. Educational parks are school sites or campuses which have been designed for large student bodies and which serve attendance areas greater in size than those of the traditional neighborhood school. Usually the educational park or plaza serves all grades from 1 through 12, although there may be some separation of facilities for the primary and upper elementary grades from those of the junior and senior high grades. In some cases, the park also serves kindergarten- and preschool-age children as well as junior college enrollments or grades 13 and 14 and the adult community.

By drawing pupils from inner-city as well as suburban and rural environments, or in the case of large cities from many neighborhoods within the city, the park brings together at one school site children from many different cultural, social and economic levels as well as from different races. One of its principal effects in school desegregation has been to involve a wide range of the white community in desegregation, rather than having white children who are primarily from lower socio-economic levels attend desegregated schools, while children in the more affluent suburbs are largely untouched by desegregation.

Location of the educational park is, of course, a primary consideration. Ideally, the park should be located where all elements of the proposed school population can be served with the least amount of time and money being required for pupil transportation. However, the availability and cost of an appropriate site is also an important concern. Because of the relatively large numbers of students who must be provided for, larger than usual amounts of land are required for school sites. Possible traffic congestion around the school park must be taken into consideration, as must the usual problems of providing for utilities and other services.

Educational parks have been developed and used in areas where there were no problems of racial segregation and where the parks were set up solely on the basis of their contributions to the educational program. The parks have several educational advantages. The presence of large numbers of students at each grade level makes it possible to offer a curriculum with greater breadth and depth than would be possible at smaller schools. For high school students, for example, technical and vocational courses which might not be possible with smaller numbers of students can be offered. More electives in such areas as foreign languages are possible. Students who wish to specialize in the sciences find more courses offered and the school system finds it possible to provide more complete and sophisticated laboratory equipment and facilities. Guidance, counseling and testing services can be centralized and can be provided to students at all grade levels at the site. Better equipped libraries manned for longer hours by trained librarians are possible. It is also more possible for teachers to specialize in those areas in which they have special training, natural aptitudes and interest, both in elementary grades and in high school grades. The large geographical areas devoted entirely to school purposes also provide the campus atmosphere which many feel is more conducive to learning.

The establishment of an educational park represents a large initial capital outlay, especially for a school system which feels it already has adequate facilities for the number of pupils it serves. If the school board has been considering the consolidation of several of its small high schools or elementary schools, and has already determined that it will have to spend money for this purpose, the concept of an educational park may prove attractive to it. The same may be true of a school system which has not spent any sizable sums on capital outlay for some time and which recognizes that it will have to modernize its schools in the near future.

THE EFFECTS OF RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS UPON DESEGREGATION

It is probably too early to judge clearly what effect residential patterns will have upon desegregation of schools in Louisiana. There is always a possibility that desegregation and resegregation patterns which have become clearly established in northern and western areas of the country will occur in some Louisiana school systems, particularly in urbanized areas. Thus, a Louisiana school system may find that some of its schools remain almost entirely Negro, purely on the basis of residential patterns, while others of its schools remain almost entirely white on the same basis. In some systems it may develop that desegregation is largely confined to schools which serve Negroes and whites from lower socioeconomic levels. This would occur in inner and fringe areas of the cities and poor rural areas. This could happen especially if desegregation is achieved by geographical zoning.

If this happens, disadvantaged white and Negro children will be placed together in schools and effectively separated from contact with children from more advantaged backgrounds who could provide peer learning experiences which the disadvantaged children would otherwise not have. In some areas this situation already exists and desegregation would not change it. Typically the problems of schools of this sort have been heightened by the exodus of any remaining white and Negro middle-class families. In addition, the schools, because of their high incidence of disciplinary problems and other disadvantages, have trouble attracting and holding better qualified teachers, who either avoid the schools altogether or sooner or later leave them for schools in more attractive areas. In such schools, normal racial tensions may be heightened by the resentment of white pupils from lower social and economic levels at being the only groups of whites who are in schools with large numbers of Negro pupils.

While residential patterns may work in this fashion to make the problems of desegregation largely moot for children from affluent families, such patterns also tend to result in a high concentration of educationally and culturally disadvantaged children, of both races, in the same schools. This works a further hardship and deprivation on the disadvantaged children. The very pupils who could serve as models of educational achievement for the disadvantaged children are removed. In many cases, too, teachers who could serve as adequate models in terms of speech patterns, conduct, experience and background are also removed.

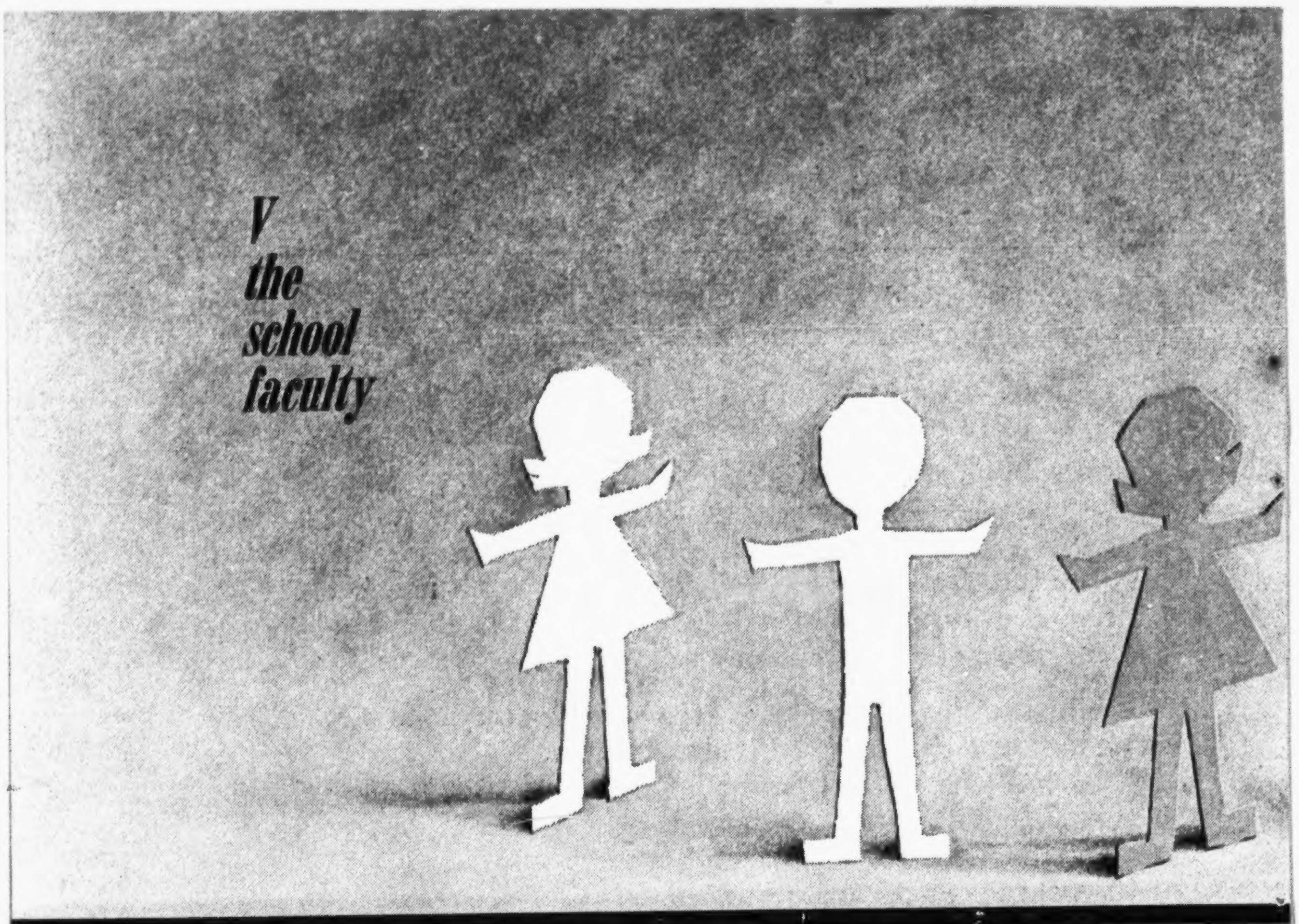
THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL BOARD AND COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

Generally, local school boards in Louisiana have been reluctant to take any action in school desegregation matters except action expressly required by the courts. This reluctance has been due in part to the personal feelings of school board members in the matter of desegregation, and in part to what the members feel are the attitudes of the communities they serve.

While the unwillingness of the school boards to act without express court direction is understandable, it may also be self-defeating. Some close observers of desegregation progress in Louisiana, including attorneys for the school boards, have expressed the opinion that the boards and the schools would be better off if the boards could manage to settle their desegregation problems out of court. These opinions appear to be based on a belief that decisions over the particulars of desegregation made by the school boards themselves would be more in line with community attitudes than such decisions made by the courts. However, if the school boards refuse to take any steps without being expressly directed to do so by the courts, they lose by default their opportunities for guiding the desegregation process.

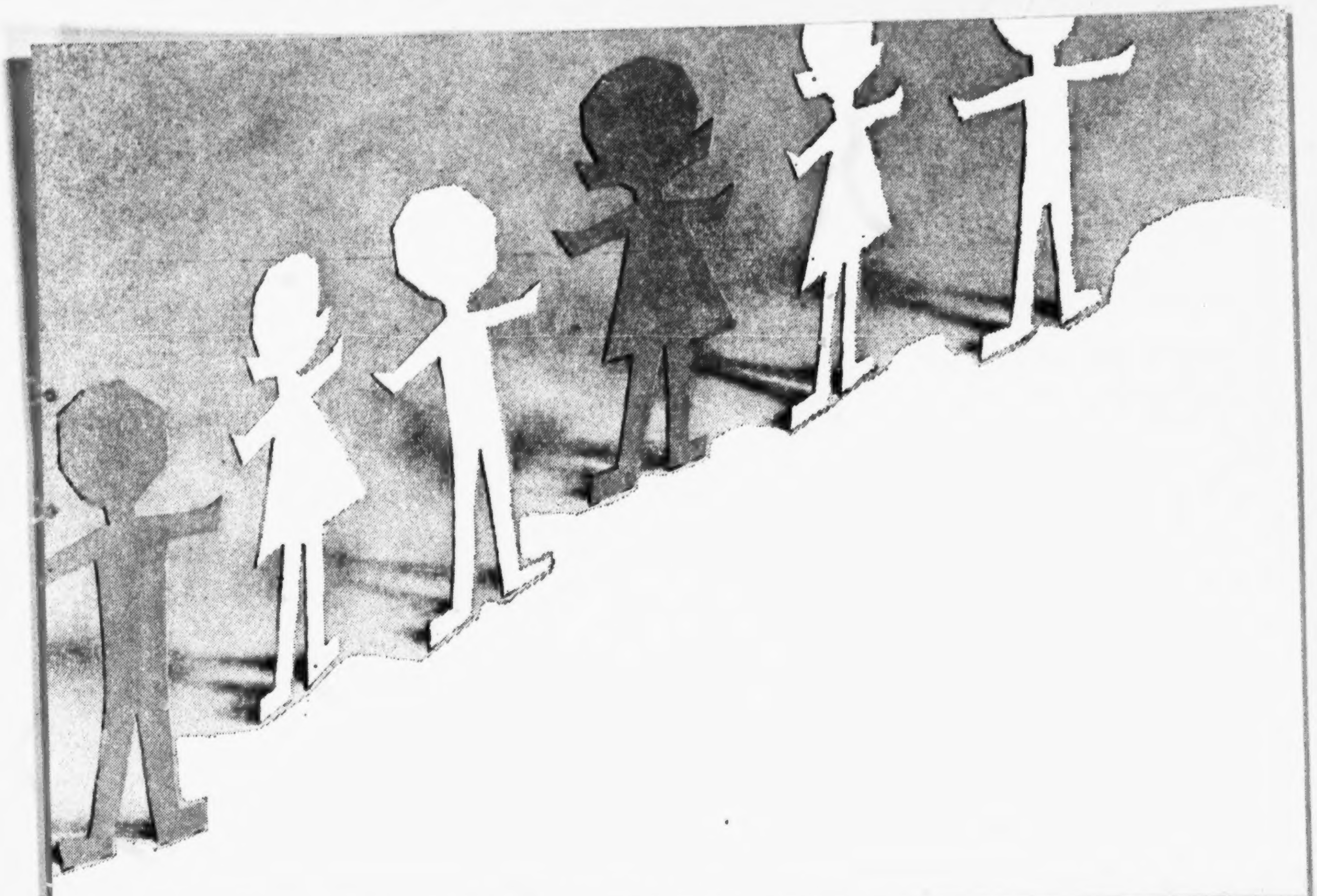
Apparently, one reason most school board members are reluctant to act in school desegregation is that they fear to incur the wrath of the communities they represent. If this is true, and if the fear has a sound basis, the communities themselves are shortsighted in seeking to tie the hands of their school boards. At this stage, the choice appears to be a simple one. There will be more desegregation of schools than Louisiana has hitherto experienced, and the only remaining question appears to be whether that desegregation will be based upon plans initiated by locally elected school board members or upon plans prepared by officials in federal agencies and federal judges.

V
the school faculty



The problems which face Louisiana public schools in the next few years are like an iceberg—only a small part shows above the surface. The part which shows is the problem of desegregating pupils and teachers to meet court requirements calling for the elimination of dual school systems. To many persons, and most unfortunately to many school superintendents and board members, this part of the iceberg looms so large and threatening that it appears to be the whole problem. However, it is the base of the iceberg which constitutes the real problem and threat. That base is the unevenness, and frequently the lack, of quality in Louisiana's public education program.

Pupil desegregation poses so many problems mainly because the schools are not capable of offering all children the kinds and quality of education they need to fully realize their potentials. The assignment of disadvantaged children and their more advantaged fellows to the same schools promises educational headaches precisely because programs have not been provided to help the educationally and culturally deprived, of whatever race, overcome the handicaps imposed by their home and neighborhood environments. Desegregation of teaching staffs is a cause of great concern principally because all teachers have not been carefully



selected and properly trained to provide a high quality of instruction. The fear of losing essential public support for the schools and the worry that white middle-class families will desert the public schools in large numbers is haunting school officials now simply because the quality of the educational program is not uniform throughout the schools and, in fact, it is pitifully low in many. These are the factors which make the threat of large-scale school desegregation so frightening to many.

Thoughtful Louisianians now realize that the long period of separate and unequal schools for whites and Negroes, coupled with the white community's lack of concern over what went on in the Negro schools, was largely responsible for many of the problems facing the schools today. This lack of concern in the white community has been tragically mirrored in the unconcern of many state education officials and local superintendents and school board members, themselves all white, over the instructional program in Negro schools. Now that Negro pupils and teachers must be merged with white pupils and teachers, yesterday's neglect becomes today's most pressing problem.

To a great extent the same neglect has been evidenced toward the instructional program in white schools in isolated rural areas and in poor neighborhoods of larger towns and cities. Until the advent of federal programs for this purpose in recent years, nothing had been done to provide the special programs needed by children at these schools to help them overcome the cultural and educational disadvantages from which they suffered.

IMPROVING THE INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF

Any improvement sought in the instructional program in Louisiana schools will be vitally dependent upon improving the quality of the instructional staff in the schools. A basic reason for the low quality of the educational program in many Louisiana schools today is the poor preparation of teachers.

Many of these teachers are themselves from educationally and culturally disadvantaged backgrounds, and their years of attendance at racially isolated or poor rural or slum area schools have not helped them overcome these disadvantages. The college preparation many received also has not been effective in erasing the disadvantages. In some cases this preparation was obtained decades ago, when the teacher training institutions they attended offered less than first rate higher education programs. In other cases it was obtained at racially isolated institutions whose student bodies were composed primarily of persons from disadvantaged families and whose programs and standards were geared to these students. Many teachers with these backgrounds simply are not prepared to assimilate up-to-date curriculum materials and present them in a quality instructional program meeting the higher standards demanded of the schools today.

One of the problems has been that the school systems have not been selective enough in hiring teachers. Indeed, some of the schools in poorer urban and rural areas have not been able to afford the luxury of selection. The more capable and better trained teachers, white and Negro, have sought employment in schools in middle- and upper-income neighborhoods, and rural and slum area schools of both races have had to take what was left. Superintendents have usually not made determined efforts to assign some of their best teachers to schools in disadvantaged areas, especially against the teachers' wishes. In the past superintendents have followed state law and custom in placing only Negro teachers in Negro schools and white teachers in white schools, even when better prepared and more competent teachers of the other race have been available. To have done otherwise would have meant flaunting southern tradition and state law and would have cost them their jobs. Thus, in the South the proportion of teachers who are Negro is comparable to the proportion of pupils who are Negro, unlike in other sections of the nation where Negro teachers are often only a fraction of the proportion represented by Negro pupils.

Principals, usually chosen from among the teachers in a school system, have all too frequently been chosen for reasons other than excellence as educators. Some principals, especially in Negro schools, have been chosen on the basis of their ability to run their schools with a firm hand and to handle discipline problems within the school, rather than with any reference to their abilities as educational leaders. A "good" principal was one who kept his students and teachers in line and thus permitted no problems to reach the school board office rather than one who ran a good educational institution. In white and Negro schools, principals are usually the persons most successful in obtaining school board and administration support for their candidacies, rather than persons sought out by the board and administration because they have a firm intellectual grasp of what it takes to provide a sound educational program for all pupils and the ability to translate such an idea into action.

Teacher Selection and Preparation

The desegregation of Louisiana public schools should provide an impetus for needed changes in teacher recruitment and preparation. There is no logical defense for the practice of using one set of standards in recruiting teachers for one group of schools and using other standards in recruiting for another group of schools. However, when teachers are employed on the basis of race this may happen because it is necessary to employ a certain number of white and a certain number of Negro teachers, regardless of qualifications.

Louisiana school officials and officials of teacher training institutions must begin to regard all teachers and prospective teachers in terms of their fitness to teach in any elementary or high school in the state. It is not reasonable to expect that the courts will accept the argument that teachers of one race cannot be assigned to schools predominantly populated by pupils of another race because the teachers are not qualified to teach in those schools. At least one court has already made this clear. Overruling the argument that educational standards would be lowered by the transfer of teachers to schools in which pupils were predominantly of another race, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit stated:

> Any teacher qualified to teach white children ought to be competent to teach Negroes and vice versa. We are concerned with standards of equal education for all students—whether they be white or Negro. The argument for providing superior education for either race alone does not attract or persuade us.[1]

School administrators have available several means of evaluating applicants for teaching positions, in addition to ascertaining whether they have obtained college degrees and are certified to teach in the fields for which they are being considered. Among these are: impressions gained during personal interviews with the teacher applicants; review of their college transcripts; letters from former employers, college instructors and other references; and the scores made by the teacher applicants on objective standardized tests.

Teacher Examinations

The scores prospective teachers obtain on standard tests are especially helpful as a supplement to the information provided in college transcripts. Educators are well aware that colleges and universities have different standards and grading practices. A degree obtained and grades awarded at one institution may signify an altogether different level of performance from that represented by similar grades and a similar degree awarded by another institution. The test scores enable local school administrators to evaluate the academic achievements of applicants for teaching positions without regard to the varying standards of different colleges.

Probably the best known of such tests are the National Teacher Examinations (NTE), which were inaugurated in 1940 by the American Council on Education and are now administered by Educational Testing Service, a nonprofit educational organization. The NTE consists of two series of examinations: (1) the Common Examinations, which the testing service describes as measuring a prospective teacher's "basic professional preparation and general academic attainment," and (2) the Teaching Area Examinations, which measure the person's preparation to teach in his chosen field.

Tests of this kind measure only what the teacher knows and not what kind of person he is or how effectively he will function in a classroom. However, they are valuable adjuncts to other sources of information, including, in the cases of probationary teachers, observation by principals and supervisors of the teachers' performances in the classroom.

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[1] *Kemp* v. *Beasley*, (8th Cir., 1968) 389 F.2d 178.

The National Teacher Examinations are used in connection with teacher certification by several states. North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas use NTE scores in awarding regular teaching certificates. These and other states (California, Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Hawaii, Maine, Nebraska, New Hampshire and West Virginia) also use the tests in various other ways—e.g., to add teaching fields to regular certificates previously issued by the state, in lieu of course requirements for regular certificates in certain fields, to renew provisional certificates, etc.

Many individual school systems throughout the country either require or encourage applicants for teaching positions to submit their NTE scores when applying. Louisiana public school systems which require the scores are Avoyelles, East Baton Rouge, Lafayette and Orleans, while Acadia, Rapides, St. Landry and St. Tammany encourage submission of the scores.

The National Teacher Examinations are administered at all of the public 4-year colleges and universities in Louisiana except the Southern University branch in New Orleans. Seven private colleges in the state also administer the examinations.

Programs of Teacher Training Institutions

Increased desegregation of public school faculties should also bring important changes in the traditional roles of the teacher training institutions in Louisiana and hence in their programs. Until now most teachers going into the white public schools of this state have been trained by predominantly white colleges and universities, and most teachers going into the Negro schools have been trained by predominantly Negro institutions. Now the colleges must be prepared to train white teachers who will be assigned to classes composed primarily of Negro children and Negro teachers who will teach predominantly white classes.

These changes call for a major rethinking of the roles of the teacher training institutions. The institutions should no longer be looked upon as dedicated to the preparation of teachers for schools of a particular race, but as preparing teachers to teach both white and Negro children. More attention should be paid to training teachers to teach culturally and educationally disadvantaged children of either race, an aspect of education which has been largely ignored until recent years.[2]

Information on the test results of their seniors and graduates on examinations such as the National Teacher Examinations can be helpful to individual colleges and universities in evaluating their teacher training programs. The colleges can use the test results in evaluating their admission and retention policies, grading practices, effectiveness of instruction, and the adequacy of the various instructional programs which they offer prospective teachers. If a large proportion of an institution's seniors and graduates taking the examinations rank low in their test scores, it should be an indication that something is wrong with the institution's programs and practices. The institutions can also use the results in counseling with seniors about areas in which they need additional course work or independent study, or in determining whether they are suited to teaching.

Supervision and Evaluation of Teachers

While standardized examinations can help local school officials to avoid employing obviously incompetent persons, probably the soundest and most effective means of determining whether a teacher should be retained in the schools is a well planned and carefully administered supervisory program. Such a program, carried out by competent supervisors who have had experience as classroom teachers, should provide a satisfactory method for judging the qualifications of teachers.

Many school systems do not provide any supervision of the teacher's work in the classroom unless the teacher himself requests a supervisory visit. Many teachers and former teachers who are now in other positions in education have remarked to the author of this report that they never had a supervisory visit to their classrooms during their entire teaching careers.

Under Louisiana law a classroom teacher does not obtain tenure or permanent status until he has completed 3 years of employment in a school system. During this probationary period teachers particularly need supervision to increase their competence and aid in their professional development.

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[2] Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, *Preparing Teachers of Disadvantaged Children; A Survey of Characteristics of Elementary Teacher Education Programs in Texas and Louisiana*, (Austin, 1968).

Supervision is needed not only during the probationary period, but during the teacher's entire working lifetime. As in the case of other professional persons, teachers, no matter how experienced, need the stimulation and assistance which can be provided by consultation with knowledgeable colleagues. Supervisors, who have both the responsibility and opportunity for keeping abreast of new developments in education, should be able to provide such consultation.

Upgrading the Present Faculty

Efforts to improve the college preparation of prospective teachers and to assure that only the best qualified are retained in the schools will eventually result in significant numbers of better qualified teachers among the total public school faculty. However, these measures will not touch the great majority of teachers who are in the schools now, many of whom have a number of years of teaching service yet to render.

Some school systems have extensive and continuing programs to upgrade the training and effectiveness of all of their teachers. However, in many systems faculty training programs, if they exist at all, are of brief duration and do not represent a serious effort to retrain teachers whose preparation is weak or outdated. A statewide program is needed to upgrade the training of such teachers and improve the caliber of instruction they are able to offer. A major retraining program of this nature will depend heavily upon the cooperation of colleges and universities in various areas of the state.

Principals, supervisors and school administrators will have to exert every measure of leadership they possess to motivate teachers to obtain the training provided under these programs. Since experience indicates that many of the teachers most in need of retraining will probably be among the persons most reluctant to return to the classroom as students, other means may have to be found to supplement the persuasive efforts of local school officials.

One means of motivating teachers to update and upgrade their preparation which has been used by many school systems is the provision of higher salary schedules for teachers who obtain additional college training beyond that required for employment. This method has traditionally been used in Louisiana, where successively higher state and local salary schedules are provided for teachers who obtain master's degrees, 30 hours of graduate credit beyond the master's, and educational specialist and doctoral degrees. However, these measures have been successful in persuading only about one fourth of Louisiana's public school teachers to obtain master's or higher degrees—27.4 per cent of white and 17.9 per cent of Negro teachers and principals had such degrees in 1966-67.

Some school systems in other states provide a greater impetus for continuing college training by requiring such training, or some other evidence of professional improvement, as a condition for regular salary increases on any of their salary scales. The National Education Association reported that in 1965-66 nearly a third of all school systems with enrollment of 6,000 or more "required teachers to show evidence of professional growth at stated intervals in order to earn regular salary increments." [3] According to the report, the most commonly accepted evidence of professional growth was the completion of a specified number of hours of college credit within certain periods of years. For example, the Fort Smith, Arkansas, school system required 6 semester hours of credit each 6 years if the teacher wished to receive regular salary increases; Lubbock, Texas, schools required 6 semester hours each 4 years; Kansas City, Kansas, required 6 hours each 5 years; and so forth. Some of the school systems gave recognition to other approved means of professional improvement such as participation in workshops, travel and research.

Provisions calling for additional pay for additional training are helpful in persuading teachers to continue and keep up-to-date their preparation for teaching. However, their effectiveness can be greatly enhanced if the additional course work taken is required to be directly related to the field or fields in which the teacher is teaching. In the same manner, Louisiana's present higher salary schedules for teachers with master's degrees and with master's plus 30 graduate hours could have a far greater effect in improving the instructional program if teachers were required to take at least a significant portion of the course work in subject fields in which they were teaching. Some superintendents and other education officials complain that these higher salary schedules are largely wasted because teachers are taking college work which has little relation to their teaching assignments to qualify for the raises.

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[3] National Education Association, *Professional Growth Requirements, 1965-66*, (Washington, 1966), 5.

Sabbatical Leaves and Compensation

Another means of encouraging teachers to return to college periodically to improve and update their preparation for teaching is the sabbatical leave. State law provides that all public school teachers in Louisiana shall be eligible for sabbatical leave for one semester following 3 consecutive years (six semesters) of teaching service in a school system and for two semesters of leave following 6 consecutive years (12 semesters) of teaching. The leave may be taken for purposes of professional improvement or for rest and recuperation. Persons taking leave for professional improvement may devote such leave to college study, independent study, research, writing or travel which is of educational value. Sabbatical leave for rest or recuperation can be granted only after two physicians have certified that the health of the applicant is such that leave would be justified. No school system may have more than 5 per cent of its teaching staff on sabbatical leave at one time, except that in cases of sick leave this limit may be exceeded.

The law also provides that teachers on sabbatical leave may elect to be paid either (1) one-half the minimum salary paid a beginning teacher with a bachelor's degree (one-half of $4,400 on the present state minimum salary scale) or (2) the difference between his salary in his regular position and the compensation fixed for a day-by-day substitute in that position. School boards may also pay any additional compensation they wish to persons on sabbatical leave.

The second choice of compensation listed above is the method most commonly used in computing sabbatical leave pay. It is the logical choice for most teachers who have several years of service, particularly if they are employed in school systems which have local salary scales set higher than the state minimum scale.[4]

If local school systems pay persons on sabbatical leave only the difference between their regular salaries and the compensation paid to their substitutes, and if the substitutes are employed at the fixed day-by-day rate, then there are no extra salary costs to the systems because of the leave. However, some school systems do not fill positions for an entire school year, or even for a semester, with day-by-day substitutes. Such systems will attempt to hire full-time teachers for the positions and will pay them according to regular salary scales. Since the systems may only deduct the lower cost of day-by-day substitutes from the salaries of the teachers on sabbatical leave, they must make up the difference from their own budgets.

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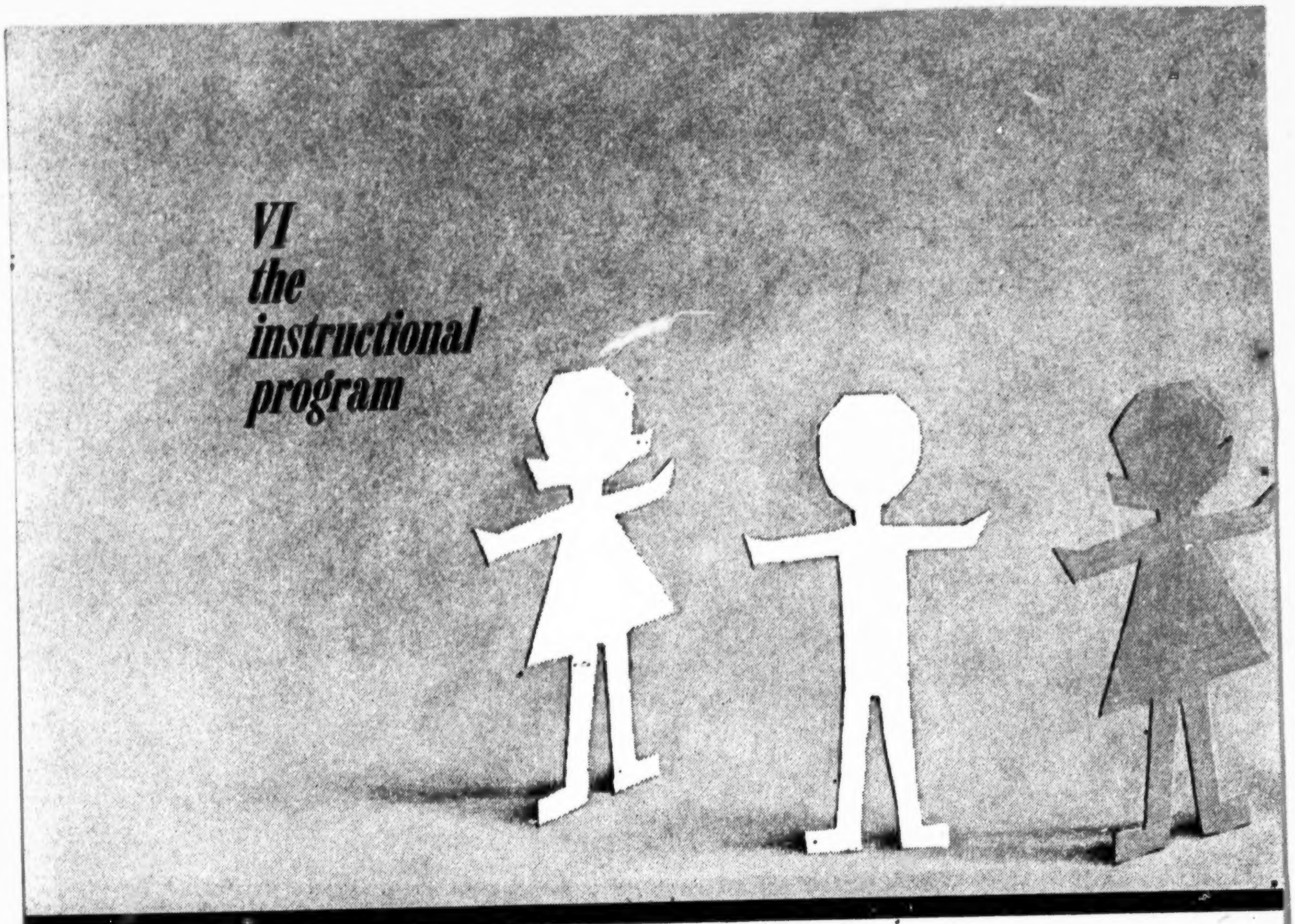
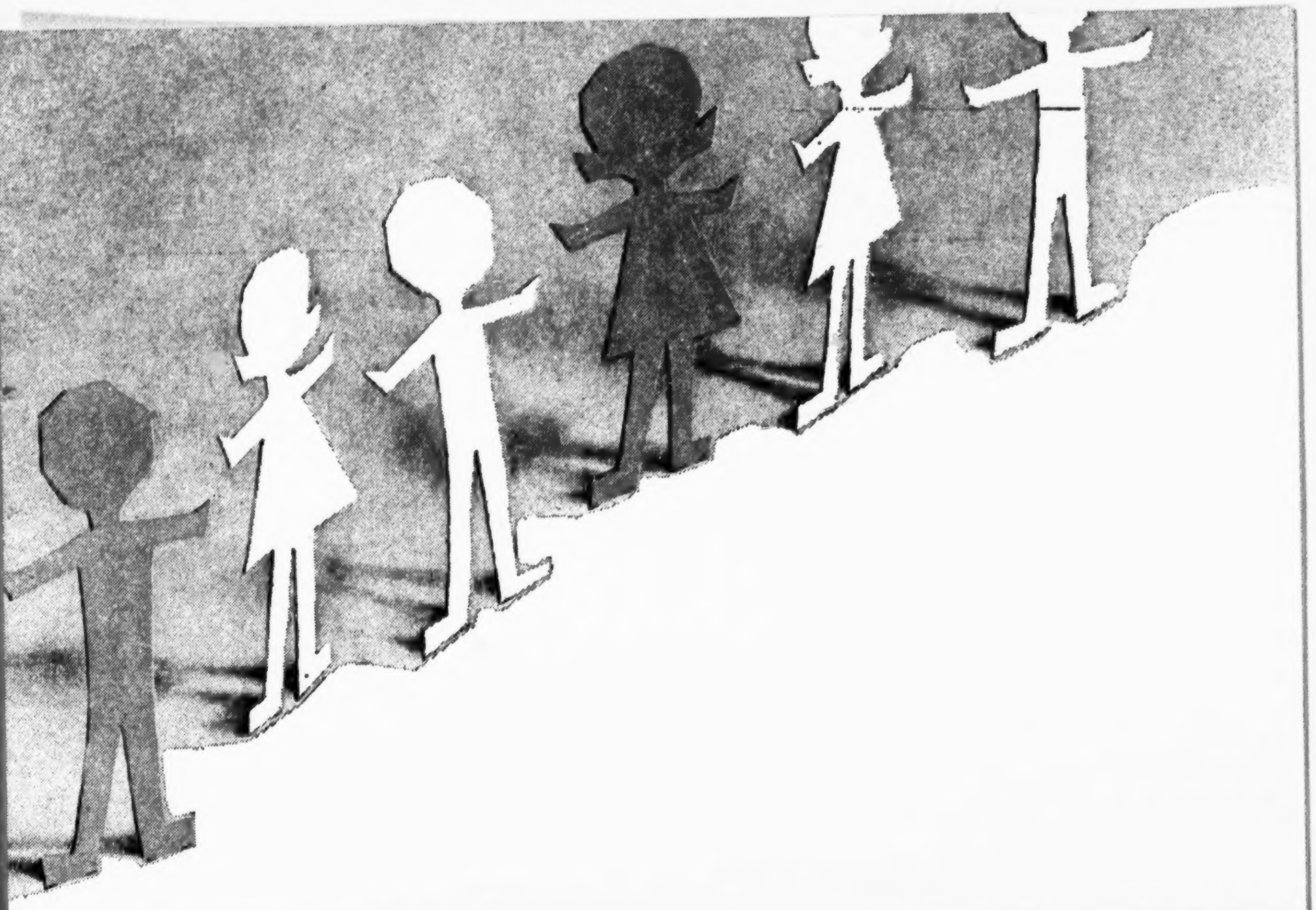
[4] However, an appellate court has held that a school board could adopt a resolution under which a substitute teacher would be paid $10 a day for the first 10 days of substitute teaching and the full amount due under the regular salary schedule thereafter. The court also held that all amounts paid the teacher substituting for a teacher on sabbatical leave could be deducted from the salary of the teacher on leave. *Coody v. Natchitoches Parish School Board*, (App. 1964) 166 So. 2d 303.

VI
the instructional program



One of the most widely espoused concepts in American public education is that the educational program should be designed to serve the needs of the individual child. Throughout most of the years since this idea was first advanced, the concept itself has been little more than the theme for lip service. The educational program has been, in fact, shaped to serve the needs of the so-called "average child" or the middle majority of children in the public schools. In most school systems the needs of the below average, the underachievers, the culturally disadvantaged, those with special learning difficulties, the maladjusted, and others who could not keep up with the middle majority have been largely ignored, as have the needs of the gifted and those with special aptitudes and talents.

In the past decade or so, partly as a result of the movement to desegregate schools, greater attention has been paid to the concept of individual differences in pupils than has ever been given before. In addition, the intellectually gifted, and especially those with aptitudes in scientific fields, have received attention as a result of the Soviet successes in space and the competition offered to the United States from that direction. Children with learning problems have also received attention because of interest in the causes



of poverty and because of an awareness that education is a prime weapon in the fight against the cycles of poverty. These three movements—the desegregation of schools, the competition in space and the efforts to end poverty—have been a tremendous impetus for change in the public school program.

At the same time and for the same reasons the school systems have become aware that the supply of highly qualified and trained teachers is not sufficient to meet the demands placed on the schools today. Persons who are able to communicate with and teach the culturally and educationally disadvantaged, the physically and mentally handicapped and the gifted are not available in sufficient numbers because not enough attention has been paid to training teachers for these children. Even in the more traditional aspects of the school program, geared to the average middle-class child, there are not enough competent, experienced and well trained teachers to fill all positions. Many of the tasks carried out by teachers in the past must be relegated to persons with less training and skill in order to conserve teachers' time for the instructional program itself.

Educators also realize that the operation of a meaningful educational program for children with diverse needs can no longer depend upon the efforts of classroom teachers alone. School programs today use the skills of many different specialists in education, as well as in psychology, health, welfare and other fields. The work of all of these people must be coordinated and scheduled so that they can make a maximum contribution to the program.

Recognition of the need to provide more individualized instruction for pupils with widely varying backgrounds and achievements has led to significant changes in the organization and grouping of pupils for instruction. The desire to make the best use of available teaching talent and to provide teachers with necessary staff assistance has resulted in changes from traditional organization and scheduling of faculty time.

Some of the changes in faculty and pupil organization are discussed in the following pages. In many schools these methods or programs are no longer considered new or experimental, but have become an accepted part of the school program. None of the methods discussed represents a complete organization for instruction by itself, but several may be combined to provide for the best use of pupil and teacher time.

PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

Children going into the schools at the first grade level show great differences in their readiness and ability to learn. In part, these differences relate to the varying potentials of the children. A child whose mental ability is below average will not be able to assimilate new learning experiences as easily as a child whose ability is considered superior. However, the child's readiness for learning also depends to a great extent on the effects of his early environment. If he has been receiving constant care and attention from adults and older children, has been exposed to the same spoken language he hears in the schools, encouraged to learn letters and numbers and surrounded by playthings and picture books which familiarize him with the names and uses of objects, he will probably be ready and eager to learn the written symbols which describe the world he already knows. On the other hand, if a child receives little individual attention, if the language he customarily hears bears small resemblance to that spoken in the schools, and if he sees and hears little which familiarizes him with the middle-class life and surroundings he will later try to read about, he is at a disadvantage and learning will not come easily.

Preschool Programs

Studies have indicated that young children whose home environments place them at an educational disadvantage can be helped greatly by kindergartens and other "preschool" arrangements. In effect, kindergartens and nursery schools can provide for these children the adult attention, picture books, playthings, early experiences with letters and numbers and exposure to middle-class vocabularies and pronunciations which they miss at home. When such programs have been combined with needed medical and dental care, nutritious meals and efforts to enlist the interest and concern of parents, as in Head Start, many of the early disadvantages of deprived children have been overcome, and they have been able at least to start school on a more nearly equal footing with other children. The Head Start programs are operated by community agencies, and in some cases by school boards, and are financed by the federal government under the Economic Opportunity Act.

While there have been several successful Head Start programs in Louisiana, many deprived children, particularly in rural areas, have not been reached by these programs. Other children who have been served by summer Head Start programs have not had sufficiently long exposure to be permanently helped. Full-year kindergartens available to disadvantaged children throughout the state, combined with the extra medical and social services of the Head Start program, would provide the help which these children need.

Until recent years Louisiana has had very few full-year public kindergartens. As recently as 1965-66 only two public school systems, Orleans and Plaquemines, operated kindergartens. However, since then interest in kindergartens has grown considerably, and 30 systems are reported by the State Department of Education as operating public kindergartens in some or most of their elementary schools this year, 1968-69. A survey by the department in the summer of 1968 revealed that these school systems planned to have kindergarten classes in 370 schools.

State funds are provided through the equalization program to pay the state minimum salaries for public school kindergarten teachers. That program also provides $43 a year per pupil to meet other operating costs of the kindergarten classes. State support is also furnished for transportation and school lunches for kindergarten pupils.

No state support is provided for prekindergarten or nursery school programs. The Orleans school system has some prekindergarten classes which are held in public school classrooms after the regular school day is over. A few other public school systems have operated early childhood programs under the Head Start program. However, these programs have not shared in state education funds.

Compensatory Programs

To have any lasting effect, preschool programs for the disadvantaged should be followed up with compensatory education which should be available so long as the pupils need it to keep up with their classwork. For many years Louisiana has supported the concept of "special education" to aid children with physical or mental disabilities or handicaps. There is no less a need for such "special education" or compensatory education for children with severe cultural or social handicaps. The compensatory programs should be designed to help not only the culturally disadvantaged, but children with other learning difficulties.

Most school systems need to be much more aware of the importance of uncovering and properly diagnosing problems—whether mental, physical, cultural or social—which prevent individual pupils from reaping the full benefit they otherwise could take from the educational program. Such problems should be found and diagnosed early in the child's school career, and the type of educational program needed to overcome his learning difficulties should be prescribed. This is a significant part of the concept of individualized instruction.

Compensatory education programs should be broad enough to cover all skill areas which are essential to learning and thorough enough to accomplish their purposes. At a minimum, sufficient help should be provided to allow children who are considered educable within the regular public schools to acquire the reading, grammar, pronunciation and mathematics skills they need to communicate and function without disadvantage in today's world. Beyond this, every effort should be made to help pupils overcome the deficiencies caused by unfavorable environments, low ability levels or other handicaps.

Grouping Pupils for Instruction

Although there is by now widespread acceptance among educators of the concept of individual differences in pupils, there is no attempt to provide a teacher to meet the individual needs of each pupil in the public schools. This is not only unfeasible for economic reasons and because there simply are not enough teachers available, but it also runs counter to the belief that much of what is learned in school either requires interaction among children in a group or is learned by children from their peers.

Because of these considerations, pupils are normally organized into classes under the supervision of teachers. Current practice is to provide teachers in about the ratio of one to every 25 pupils in the schools.

The typical method of organizing pupils for instruction in elementary schools is to place pupils together on the basis of the length of time they have been in school. For example, 25 or so children entering school for the first time are placed together in a first grade classroom under one teacher. If the school has 80 pupils who have completed 2 years of schooling, typically they will be divided into three heterogeneous groups which are more or less equal in number and placed into three third grade classrooms, each with its own teacher. Each class of pupils in this "egg crate" arrangement will probably include children whose achievements in learning differ widely. These differences in achievement will be notable not only from one child to the other, but also from one skill to another for the same child.

Traditional organization of pupils at the high school level is not quite so simple, but it is largely based on taking children of approximately the same age level who wish to study the same subject or course and placing them together in a classroom under a teacher. In many high schools, the only significant changes from the age or grade level grouping which followed children all through elementary school are made to take into account the fact that pupils may elect certain subjects. In the required subjects, such as English, high school students in many schools tend to be placed together with their age peers in much the same way as they were in elementary school.

Although grouping by age level is still the most common organization of pupils for instruction, today many schools throughout the country are grouping pupils in nongraded units or blocks, or by achievement or potential.

Nongraded Schools

One method of organizing pupils for instruction which has gained considerable interest in recent decades is the nongraded school. This method grew out of a recognition that the old practice of regarding all children of the same age level as alike in potential for learning, in actual achievement and skills, interests and aptitudes, is based on a fallacy which cannot be reconciled with what has been learned about individual differences among pupils. Two of the foremost advocates of the nongraded school, John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, describe the shortcomings of the graded school structure as follows:

> The realities of child development defy the rigorous ordering of children's abilities and attainments into conventional graded structure. For example, in the average first grade there is a spread of 4 years in pupil readiness to learn as suggested by mental age data. As the pupils progress through the grades, the span in readiness widens. Furthermore, a single child does not progress all of a piece: he tends to spurt ahead more rapidly in some areas than in others. Consequently, a difference of one grade between his reading attainment and his arithmetic attainment at the end of the second grade classification may be extended to a three- or four-grade difference by the end of his fifth year in school. The presence of graded structure may disguise or distort such realities but it cannot remove them. In brief, . . . a fifth-grade teacher, in spite of his designation, is not a teacher of fifth-grade children. At a given time, he teaches third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and even ninth grades, as far as learner realities are concerned, even though all the pupils in his room may be labeled 'fifth grade'. . . .[1]

The nongraded organization has usually been placed in effect in elementary schools, although at least one high school, that at Melbourne in Brevard County, Florida, has reported that it has a nongraded structure.

Most nongraded school programs are based upon the concept that each pupil should be allowed to progress at his own rate of learning, without either (1) being held back by his slower classmates, or (2) facing the frustration and humiliation of failing and being retained in a grade for another year. The nongraded school recognizes the tremendous differences among children of like ages in attainments and abilities. The nongraded organization allows each pupil to progress along a continuum established by his own achievements and learning pace without being subjected to arbitrary or extraneous grade standards or on the other hand being made the victim of "social promotion."

Thus, in a nongraded primary unit, a pupil may take 3 years to complete the work which is customarily considered as appropriate for the first three grades of a graded school. If he is somewhat slower than the average child, or if he has difficulties in certain learning or skill areas, he may take 3-1/2 to 4 years to complete the work usually considered appropriate for the first 3 years in a graded school. If he is considerably above average in most abilities and skills, and applies himself, he may complete this work in less than 3 years. In the latter case, he may be retained with his primary group but given additional, and perhaps more difficult, work to do during his third year. Or, in unusual cases, he may be advanced before he completes his third year in school to work with other pupils who are in their fourth year in school.

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[1] John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, *The Non-Graded Elementary School* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1959), 3.

Some nongraded schools divide the work into curriculum areas (e.g., reading, spelling, arithmetic, writing and other areas) and into various "levels," each level consisting of more difficult work than the level before it. Several different levels of work will be planned for the first 3 years of school, for example.

Some programs provide a certain number of levels to be completed by average and below average pupils, and also have additional levels which can be completed within the 3 years by faster or above average pupils. A pupil who is significantly below average or slow in his work may require 4 years to complete the regular program.

The nongraded school is merely a method of organizing pupils for instruction. Unless the dropping of grade designations is accompanied by a whole rethinking of curriculum and the instructional materials and practices to be used, there will be no appreciable change from the old practice of arranging pupils in designated grades. It is not the fact that the grade designations 1, 2, 3 have been dropped and that pupils are assigned to a primary unit that makes a difference, it is what takes place in the instructional program within that primary unit. If the school and the teachers, and to a great extent the parents and community, have not accepted the fact that each pupil should be allowed to progress in a continuous, unbroken manner, and at his own pace, through instructional materials suited to his needs, the school is not truly a nongraded school.

Implications for Desegregated Schools

The nongraded approach, particularly at the primary level, appears to have definite advantages for schools which are faced with the prospect of accepting pupils coming to it from various backgrounds and possibly with widely varying degrees of readiness. With a well-planned, nongraded program, such a school may find it possible to move many of its pupils through the usual curriculum in 3 years with no sacrifice of quality in the instructional program, while providing an additional semester or year in the primary unit for pupils from disadvantaged families, who may not be as ready for school work as some of their classmates. The additional year in the primary unit allows time for a strong compensatory education program, which may make it possible for many pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds to move on schedule through the remainder of their school program without having to be retained in grade. At the same time, if there are no grade levels in the primary unit, disadvantaged children are spared the frustration of "failing" at the first or second grade level. Some children from such backgrounds also may catch up sufficiently in the first 2 years of school to complete the work required in the primary unit in 3 years.

Extended School Year

In recent years growing interest has been shown in extending the traditional 9-month school/3-month vacation arrangement to better utilize the school facilities and to provide greater and more flexible educational opportunities for adapting instruction to the individual child. This approach may be particularly helpful in meeting the problems of broader achievement levels in each grade following substantial desegregation of pupils.

Several designs for extending the school year have been tried during the past half century, but the idea must still be considered as being in the experimental stage. The New York State Department of Education developed at least six distinct plans[2] which attempt to meet the most serious objections to earlier designs. These plans are all based on a school year of approximately 210 days as compared to the normal 180 days. The traditional summer vacation is kept although it is reduced to about 7 weeks instead of 3 months. There is no staggering of attendance periods. All pupils attend school every day. And the school day need not be lengthened.

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[2] George I. Thomas, *Extended School Year Designs*, (Albany, University of the State of New York, State Education Department, January 1966); and *An Introduction to the Multiple Trails Extended School Year Plan*, (Albany, University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1968); and *Setting the Stage for Lengthened School Year Programs*, (Albany, University of the State of New York, State Education Department, March 1968)

The net result is the addition of one-sixth more classroom instructional time. Instead of 180 days X 7 class periods, or a total of 1,260 class periods, there would be 210 X 7 or 1,470 class periods, or a gain of 210.

This added time would offer opportunities for setting aside one classroom period each day (or one period a week in five subject areas) for remedial or compensatory education for children who need special help to keep up with the rest of the class. The extra period could be used for enrichment purposes for children who are progressing normally. It could be used by bright or fast achievers to take one added course during the year, thus permitting them to graduate a year or two earlier. The extra time gained through the extended school year could also be used by teachers to prepare lesson plans or engage in various professional development activities.

Several variations of the design discussed here might be used. The significant point is that one-sixth more time would be available to adapt the instructional program to diverse needs of the children. And no one can doubt that in the years immediately ahead, as school desegregation becomes effective, the range of achievement levels of children in all grades will be much greater than at present. The extended school year may offer all children a better opportunity to graduate on schedule, while offering many children opportunities for enrichment or acceleration.

A side benefit of such a plan would be the equivalent increase in teachers' salaries that would result.

Ability or Achievement Grouping

The practice of grouping students for instruction on the basis of some measurement of their abilities or achievements dates from the 19th century and had become fairly widespread among progressive school systems by the 1920's and 1930's.

"Ability" grouping is the separation of pupils into different classes or groups for instructional purposes on the basis of some measurement or estimate of their ability to learn or of their actual achievements in learning. Included among the instruments and methods used to group children are intelligence tests, achievement tests, subjective ratings of teachers and counselors, grades made by pupils in previous classwork, pupils' own expressed desires and other methods. In some cases one method is used, in other cases combinations of the various methods are used. In some programs in which achievement tests are used, the single overall achievement score of the pupil determines his group for all subject areas, whereas in other programs the pupil is grouped for instruction in specific subject areas according to his achievement on specific parts of the test.

Tracking usually involves something more than the mere separation of pupils into classes for instructional purposes. Usually a tracking program also determines the curriculum which the pupil is to follow, that is, the actual courses which he will take. This is especially true at the high school level where tracking determines whether the student will follow a college preparatory curriculum, a general academic curriculum, a vocational-technical curriculum or some other curriculum. Even at the elementary school level, tracking involves some determination of the course content which will be presented to the pupil.

At present, ability grouping or tracking appears to be more prevalent at the high school level than in elementary schools. Coleman and his associates reported in their 1966 study, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, that about 38 per cent of all elementary school pupils and 75 per cent of all secondary school pupils in this country are in schools which practice some form of ability grouping or tracking.

Ability grouping appears to be especially prevalent in schools in which there are large numbers of pupils from minority groups. For example, the Coleman report found that 88 per cent of all Puerto Rican high school students were in schools which grouped pupils, representing the highest proportion in schools with grouping for any racial or ethnic minority. The report also found that in most regions more Negro students are enrolled in schools which group pupils than are white students. In metropolitan areas of the South, for example, 80 per cent of the Negro pupils in secondary schools were in schools which carried out grouping, but only 45 per cent of the white pupils in the same counties were in schools which grouped. In the area in which the largest proportion of elementary school pupils were grouped, the metropolitan Northeast, 66 per cent of the Negro students were in schools which grouped pupils as compared with 61 per cent of the whites in the same counties.[3]

Many programs of ability grouping, and especially those which involve tracking, tend to be very inflexible or rigid. Once a decision is made that a pupil should perform at a certain level, the pupil may find himself assigned to classes and course work designated for that ability level, no matter what the subject field and no matter what his actual performance. In such programs, the school and the teachers' expectations for the pupil may quickly become determined by the ability group in which he is placed, and the pupil may find himself type-cast for the remainder of his school career. Movement to a higher ability level is usually quite difficult in such stereotyped programs.

On the other hand, some programs are highly flexible: a pupil may find himself placed with several different groups during the course of the school day, depending on his reading skills, his skills in numbers manipulation and mathematical reasoning, his aptitude for science courses, his vocabulary skills and other factors. In these programs, usually several methods are used to determine where the pupil will be placed, including not only a careful and sophisticated reading of the pupil's achievements on tests, but also continued evaluation by the several teachers who work with the child during the school day. In such programs, movement from one group to another in a particular skill area is possible whenever the child shows definite signs that he could benefit from such movement.

Needless to say, well-planned, carefully executed achievement grouping programs of the latter type are much more beneficial to the pupils than the inflexible programs first described. However, no program of grouping, no matter how well conceived and operated, is worth the effort unless it is accompanied by a well-designed program to match curriculum content and teaching methods to the various achievement levels of the children in the program. Grouping can do nothing more than organize the pupils into groups for the teaching experience. Unless the teacher and the school are aware of the need to closely match the learning material and methods of instruction to the individual needs of the pupils within the groups, no good is served by grouping. In essence, grouping serves only to remove some of the extremes of pupil achievements from the customary classroom situation, and to allow the teacher a somewhat more restricted range of pupil abilities within which to do his job of matching materials and methods to individual learning abilities and achievements. Thus, grouping is a means of assisting the teacher to provide an individualized instruction program.

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[3] James S. Coleman and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, U. S. Office of Education, 1966).

The limited effectiveness of "ability" grouping per se is pointed out by Goldberg, Passow and Justman in their recent study, *The Effects of Ability Grouping*:

> Ability grouping is inherently neither good nor bad. It is neutral. Its value depends upon the way in which it is used. Where it is used without close examination of the specific learning needs of various pupils and without the recognition that it must *follow* the demands of carefully planned variations in curriculum, grouping can be, at best, ineffective, at worst, harmful. It can become harmful when it lulls teachers and parents into believing that because there is grouping, the school is providing differentiated education for pupils of varying degrees of ability, when in reality that is not the case. It may become dangerous when it leads teachers to underestimate the learning capacities of pupils at the lower ability levels. It can also be damaging when it is inflexible and does not provide channels for moving children from lower to higher ability groups and back again, either from subject to subject or within any one subject as their performance at various times in their school career dictates.
>
> However, ability grouping may be used effectively when it grows out of the needs of the curriculum and when it is varied and flexible. Pupils can be assembled for special work, whether advanced content or remedial instruction in a given subject. Teachers can more easily carry out specific plans appropriate for one ability level without having to provide for other pupils for whom the particular content may be inappropriate. Pupils at all levels can be freed to participate more fully without fear of derision either for being 'too dumb' or 'too smart.'[4]

Problems in Desegregated Schools

Desegregated schools, especially those which will serve children from a fairly wide range of social and economic backgrounds, will have particular problems in grouping students by ability or achievement. In such schools, grouping may result in compartmentalizing children largely on the basis of their social and economic backgrounds. Pupils in the higher achieving groups may be almost entirely children from middle-class and professional families, while those in the lowest achieving groups may be children from culturally deprived and economically disadvantaged families, white and Negro. Such an arrangement is potentially explosive and must be handled very carefully. For one thing, it may mean a concentration of the school's disciplinary problems within one or a very few groups. Secondly, discipline problems which already existed when the white and Negro pupils were in separate schools may be heightened considerably by the mixing of the races in the low achievement groups. Very little teaching, or learning, can be done under such circumstances. Faculty members may resent being assigned to groups which are "loaded" with the discipline problems and may feel that they can do little more than attempt to maintain some semblance of discipline in the classroom. Those pupils in the group who are not themselves discipline problems, but are simply low achievers, will fall further behind in their school work because of the impossibility of learning in such a situation.

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[4] Miriam L. Goldberg, and others, *The Effects of Ability Grouping*, (New York, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1966), 168-169.

Formerly white schools which draw their student body almost entirely from middle-class and professional level families, may be faced with another type of problem when they are desegregated. If the Negro pupils moving into these schools are almost entirely from economically disadvantaged and culturally deprived families, low achieving groups in the schools may also be composed almost entirely of the incoming Negroes. This may leave the schools open to charges that the schools may be desegregated, but the classes are not. This appearance of segregation by classroom unit could be further heightened if, by chance or otherwise, Negro teachers assigned to the schools are assigned to low achieving classes.

There are some things which schools can do to avoid the charge that grouping is used to preserve segregated classes. In addition, most of these steps would have the effect of improving the grouping program, or if a program is a new one, setting it up on a sound basis.

First, the school should see to it that the assignment of pupils to class groups is based, at least in part, on the most objective criteria available to it. Performance on nationally standardized achievement tests would be one criterion which would be free of bias by teachers or school administrators in determining assignments to groups. Admittedly, achievement tests are culturally oriented, but they do measure the skills which the schools are designed to impart in our society. Thus, they could be considered useful for the purpose of grouping children for instruction. Also, since the tests measure achievement rather than potential, they can be said to show where the child stands so far as educational attainment is concerned and the teacher can go on from there in instructing him.

Second, if grouping is done separately for different subject fields or capacities, there is a greater possibility that a child will be assigned to two or more different class groups during the school day. Thus, a child whose reading skills are below average may have above average skills in numbers manipulation, and he may find himself working with groups in these two skill areas which have a different racial composition.

The school may also find itself in a better position, so far as court acceptance of its grouping program is concerned, if it does not group children for all activities carried out during the school day. If heterogeneous grouping is retained for some school activities, such as fine arts, music or physical education and recreation, all pupils have an opportunity to participate in racially mixed groups. This would help the school to avoid the appearance of having set the bulk of its Negro pupils in classes apart from white pupils or apart from almost all white pupils except those from economically and culturally deprived backgrounds.

Finally, the school can make evident its good intent by providing tutorial and other compensatory programs for pupils in lower achieving groups. Where this is done, pupils from culturally deprived backgrounds, coming into the school for the first time, have an opportunity to overcome their previous deficiencies. The school is also able to show that, while it is grouping most of these children together for educational purposes, it is doing so to meet the pupils' needs, and its tutorial program is designed to help them move into other groups. Such a compensatory program, of course, should be more than a mere facade, and should provide in-depth assistance needed by the disadvantaged children to enable them to catch up with other children of their age.

Flexible Scheduling and Class Size

Some schools today also have broken out of the old rigid mold which required that a pupil's class schedule be very much the same, day after day and week after week, and that all classes be of uniform duration and of as nearly equal size as possible. These schools have adopted various arrangements which allow for more flexible scheduling of teacher and pupil time and for classes of varying sizes as the instructional program requires. Frequently, the schools which allow these flexible arrangements also have satisfactory achievement grouping programs.

Decisions as to class sizes and schedules for instruction should be made by the teachers in a school, working with teacher leaders and department heads and with the school principal. This can best be done while lesson plans are cooperatively developed by staff in a particular subject area or at a grade level. The professional staff will know when the instructional material can best be presented in large group meetings and when small groups and one-to-one conferences should be used. They will also know when "cross-grade" grouping is advantageous, that is, when particular students from different grade levels can be brought together for instructional purposes.

Reference has already been made to the need for remedial and compensatory programs for pupils in low-achieving groups. Flexible scheduling of each pupil's work will allow for such programs. Such scheduling will also permit pupils of high ability to skip class instruction covering material they have already mastered and to devote the time to individual study in fields in which they have special aptitudes and interest.

Flexible scheduling of pupils' and teachers' time also allows for the most effective use of special equipment and program materials. For example, pupils who can benefit from reading programs, either for remedial or developmental purposes, can devote time to such programs under flexible scheduling. Such scheduling also allows pupils of all achievement levels to devote some time to programmed materials which may either assist them to overcome learning deficiencies or allow them to move ahead of their classes in particular areas.

THE INSTRUCTIONAL FACULTY

Vital to any improvement in the school program is the need to make the most effective use of the varied talents and training of the teachers and other staff members working in that program. The success of the schools is, after all, dependent upon their work. Unless means are found to take advantage of the different aptitudes, interests and skills of these persons, the instructional program will not be as effective as it could be.

Use of Specialists and Aides

In the more progressive schools today, the teacher is backed up and assisted by a number of specialists who provide services which the teacher himself does not have the time or the special training to provide, or who relieve the teacher of tasks which are considered below the professional level. The school librarian, the reading specialist, the guidance counselor, the social worker and others fall in the first group. Included in the second group are school secretaries, teachers' aides and other nonprofessional workers. These persons relieve the classroom teacher of tasks which he was formerly called upon to do and, in some cases, provide more extensive or specialized services than the classroom teacher was able to provide.

The extent to which the services of these specialists and assistants have been used varies from school to school and, within a school, from teacher to teacher and pupil to pupil. Some schools have devised organizational and scheduling arrangements in attempts to bring about the most extensive and effective use of the services provided, while others do little to promote such use. An example is the testing program. Most school systems or schools will see to it that all pupils are tested at certain grade levels, and usually there is a schedule for the administration of achievement tests, intelligence tests, and aptitude or interest tests. The testing program may be under the supervision of the guidance counselor, and this will take up part of his time. However, in many schools the contact with the guidance counselor over the testing program may be the only contact which a teacher or pupil will have with this person during the school year. These schools do not require the pupil to have an interview with the counselor at least once a year, nor do they require that the teacher make use of the counselor's services. Some teachers may avail themselves freely of the counselor's help in diagnosing learning difficulties of particular pupils, while others make little or no use of this help.

The same is true of library services. Some teachers rely heavily on school libraries as an adjunct to classroom teaching. They assign readings apart from the textbook material and work with the librarian to see that these readings are available to pupils. They also use the school library and the librarian's services in preparing special materials for presentation in the classroom. Other teachers make little or no use of the school library, and if their pupils use it, it is more by choice on their part than by desire on the teacher's part.

To a large extent, the use teachers make of specialized services and other assistance is dependent upon the attitude of the teachers and the school toward the instructional program. In the past the instructional program was often regarded as a program to be carried out by individual teachers working in individual "self-contained" classrooms and using principally the textbooks and any workbooks provided by the school administration. Today, the instructional program has come to be regarded more as a cooperative effort engaging the skills, special training, aptitudes and interest of a group of professionals and others working together to serve the total student body.

The concept of the instructional program as a group effort may take various institutional forms, some of which may be relatively simple and the others more highly organized or complex. An example of a relatively simple arrangement would be the scheduling of each class in an elementary school for use of the library, accompanied by its teacher, during at least one class period every week. In this arrangement, the teacher and the librarian work together as an informal team, and the instructional materials are expanded beyond the textbook and the workbook to whatever resources the library provides at that class level. Another example of informal organization of faculty time is the appearance, on a more or less regular basis, of the reading specialist in a classroom, at which time the specialist and the teacher work together on the reading problems of children in the class.

These are examples of informal, or at best loosely organized, teamwork on the part of teachers and other professional workers in the schools. At the other extreme is the formal organization of classroom teachers into instructional teams.

Team Teaching

The practice of organizing classroom teachers into teams for instructional purposes is of fairly recent origin, dating back to about the middle 1950's. However, it has spread more rapidly and has become more widely accepted than almost any other method of teacher or pupil organization which presents a change from the traditional "self-contained" classroom.

As is true with most other innovations in the schools, there are many variations among the organizational practices which have been labeled "team teaching." However, most team teaching programs would fit into the following definition:

> Team teaching is a type of instructional organization, involving teaching personnel and students assigned to them, in which two or more teachers are given responsibility, working together, for all or a significant part of the instruction of the same group of students.[5]

Beyond this simple definition, there are certain characteristics common to most team teaching programs. Members of teaching teams usually become much more involved in decisions as to what shall go into the curriculum, and in decisions regarding the assignment of instructional tasks and student groupings, than is characteristic of non-team programs. In the very process of working together as a team, teachers plan the instructional program, select or assign tasks to individual team members, decide how pupils shall be grouped for instruction, and, in the more active teams, continually evaluate and change the instructional program as necessary. Descriptions and studies of team teaching programs make it clear that in most such programs teachers exercise a great deal more control over the instructional program and over their own role in that program than they do in the traditional classroom setting.

One of the reasons for this greater participation of team teachers in decision-making in the instructional program is the effectiveness of team teaching in bringing supervision down to the classroom teacher level. In the traditional school organization, supervision is exercised by the school principal and by supervisors who work in the system as a whole. In team teaching programs, supervision is exercised by teachers who are team leaders or senior teachers, and, to a certain extent, by all members of a team in a collegial fashion. In the more effective teams, each teacher, regardless of title or rank, is able to make some contribution in line with his capacities to the work done by the other team members.

Team teaching allows specialization by teachers, based on their individual training, aptitudes and interests. At the elementary school level this allows teachers to specialize in reading, in social studies, in mathematics, in language arts, in science, or in other fields, rather than trying to master the large and growing bodies of knowledge and teaching techniques in these and other fields.

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[5] Judson T. Shaplin and Henry F. Olds, Jr., editors, *Team Teaching* (New York, Harper and Row, 1964), 15.

At the high school level it allows a teacher of science, for example, to specialize in biology or in physics, and a teacher of English to specialize in English literature, American literature, grammar or creative writing. Members of a team can determine for themselves how much specialization they wish and how much time will be devoted to generalized handling of the subject by each of the teachers.

Teaching teams also provide an organizational framework in which school specialists, such as the reading specialist and the librarian, part-time professional personnel and such nonprofessional personnel as teacher aides, may be effectively used. For example, where a school might not be able to provide one teacher aide for each teacher, it might find itself able to provide a teacher aide for a team of teachers. This person could perform many of the record keeping, clerical and other routine tasks which the team members would have to perform on their own as individual classroom teachers.

Studies have found that teams are much more likely to devote the extra time and effort required to prepare curriculum materials than is possible for the individual teacher working in the self-contained classroom. In a team arrangement, the scheduling of both pupil and teacher time is more flexible, and time can be set aside for work by the teachers in preparing curriculum materials. Since team teachers are able to specialize, they are more likely to feel competent to prepare additional materials on their own for use in the class.

Team Organization

Some arrangements which have been designated as team teaching are based on little more than a verbal agreement between two or more teachers in a school that they will cooperate in planning and presenting their instructional programs. In such programs the actual instruction may differ very little from instruction in a traditional self-contained classroom. The teachers may work together on lesson plans and make some cooperative arrangements among themselves for pupil assignments, but each teacher may present his instructional material to "his" students in "his" classroom in much the same fashion as he has always done.

Other cooperative team teaching efforts may involve teachers in working together as colleagues in all aspects of their daily work, from planning what will go into the instructional program, through preparing curriculum materials, selecting published materials and audiovisuals for the instructional program, assigning students, scheduling classes and doing the actual teaching. In these teams the leadership role may be assumed by first one teacher and then another, depending upon the task being performed, and upon the teacher's special talents and skills. Thus, one teacher may assume natural leadership in planning instruction in a particular field or subject in which he has special training and competence. Another may be particularly adept at preparing curriculum materials and may assume leadership in this task, and still another in scheduling pupil and teacher time. Some teachers may prefer this type of collegial organization for their team teaching efforts, and may find it more in accordance with their ideas and their professional status.

Other schools and teachers may prefer teaching teams with a formal hierarchical structure. In such arrangements, a team leader is selected by the team members, or, as is more usual, is appointed by the school administration. This person exercises supervision over the team and is responsible to the school administration for the work of the team. The position is one of higher status than that of the other members of the team, and the salary is adjusted accordingly. These teams may also have senior teachers or master teachers who work below the team leader in positions of greater responsibility than those of other team members. In most cases, these persons are also paid more than are ordinary members of the team.

Teaching teams have been used for some time now in St. Bernard Parish public schools; and other Louisiana systems, among them Concordia and East Baton Rouge, are experimenting with team teaching.

Significance for Desegregated Schools

Any school preparing to organize part or all of its faculty into teaching teams has many questions about the effectiveness of the teaching program, the morale of the teachers themselves, community acceptance and other matters. In the cases of schools in southern communities which are just beginning faculty desegregation, some of these questions take on a particular significance.

For one thing, the school cannot know what effect organization into teams will have upon the overall competence of the faculty.

On the surface, it appears reasonable to assume that the more capable members of the faculty will become natural leaders in a team organization, and that the less capable and less experienced members will learn from working with these leaders. It also seems reasonable to expect that the team, by consensus, will set some minimum level of effort and application, and that it will not allow members to consistently fall below this level. On the other hand, the teaching team may, consciously or unconsciously, act to dampen the enthusiasm and dedication of teachers who normally devote a great deal of time and effort to their class preparation. Such a teacher may find that the other members of the team are unwilling or unable to match his efforts and performance, and he may find himself subjected to a certain amount of group pressure to conform to the pace set by the team.

In situations in which both school officials and the community are concerned that desegregation of faculty will lower the quality of the teaching in a particular school, the idea that team organization would serve to set a minimum standard for teaching performance might be reassuring. Whether justifiably or not, the white community and school officials in many southern school districts feel that Negro teachers, most of whom are themselves the products of schools which the courts have described as inferior, may have difficulty meeting the standards of teaching performance set in some white schools. Such a view, of course, concerns itself with the "average" Negro teacher, recognizing that among Negro faculty members, as among whites, there are persons of unusual competence and application, as well as persons who have graduated from schools and colleges of better than average quality. This view also does not concern itself with the fact that white teachers, as well as Negro teachers, may have inadequate educational backgrounds and may perform at a level below the desired standard.

Nevertheless, if the evidence presented in the publication *Equality of Educational Opportunity* is correct in showing that the education and performance on tests of Negro teachers on the average is below that of white teachers, school officials are justified in their concern over the effects of large scale faculty desegregation. Recognition that this situation stems from many decades of neglect of Negro education, and that it can only be corrected by unusual efforts to improve the quality of education provided for most Negro pupils, does not solve the immediate problem of in a desegregated school. Such a program if it is operated without the quality of the preparation obtained by today's Negro teachers.

A carefully planned program of team teaching, initiated with the cooperation of white and Negro faculty members, may serve as an answer to the problem of maintaining quality of instruction in a desegregated school. Such a program if it is operated without discrimination, would allow each teacher to make the contribution to the instructional program he is best qualified to make. Unusually capable teachers could provide the leadership and assistance which less capable or experienced members of the team might need. Teachers whose preparation and performance are not up to the desired standards would be able to learn from their constant teamwork with better qualified teachers.

School patrons, too, might be reassured by knowing that their children would be taught by teams of teachers and would not be as susceptible to being assigned for the entire school year to one teacher whose work might be below standard.

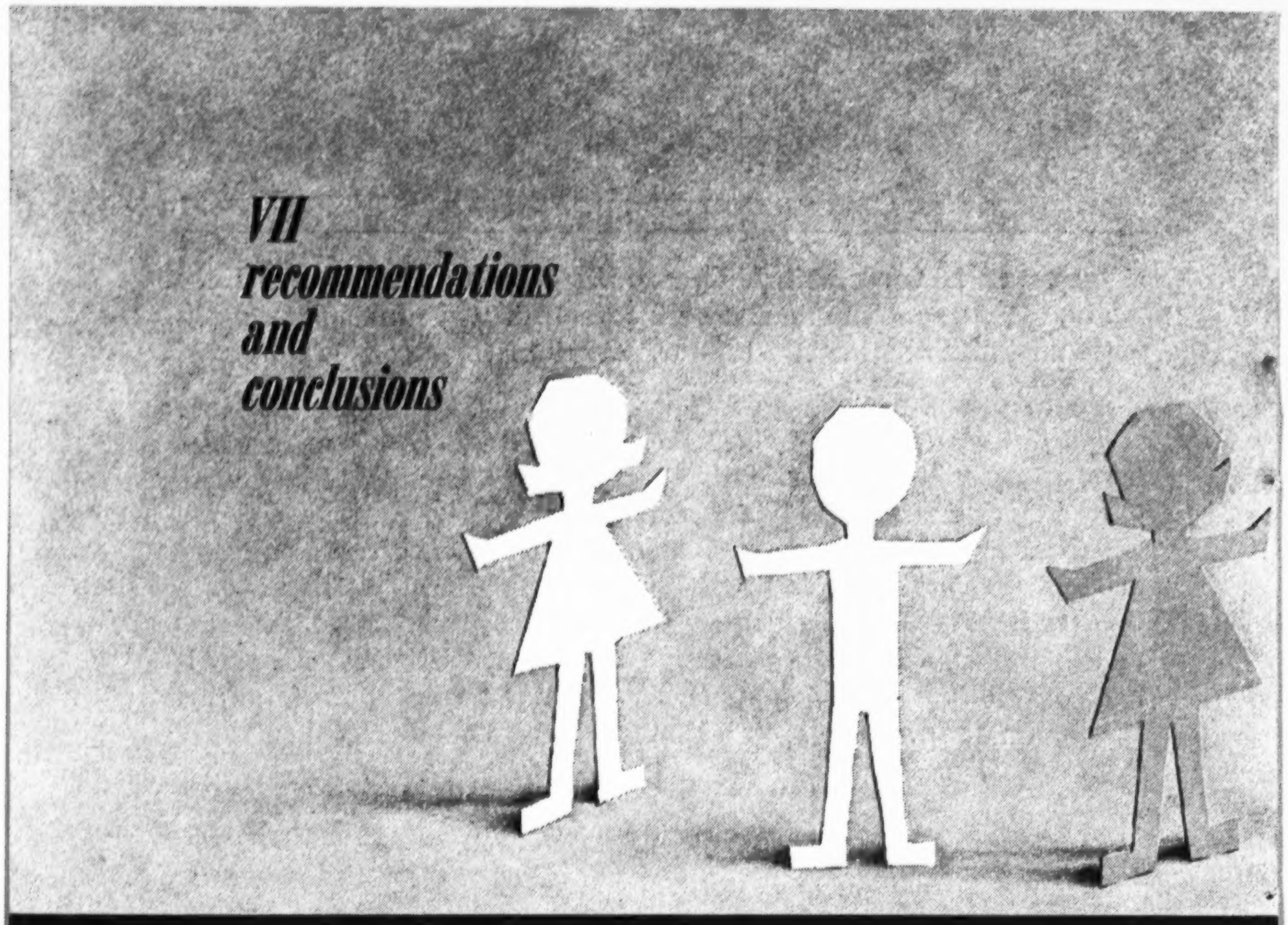
The most apparent problem in regard to team teaching in the desegregated school is its effect on teacher morale. In the traditional self-contained classroom organization, faculty desegregation has relatively little effect upon the daily working lives of the teachers. Each teacher works by himself in his own classroom. However, in the team teaching arrangement, teachers of different races will be called upon to work together in rather close cooperation in the instructional program. Some teachers may find it more difficult to adjust to this situation.

Team teaching could also be used to solve some of the problems which can be expected to arise when white faculty members are assigned to formerly all Negro schools. In southern communities, white teachers are no more accustomed to teaching Negro children than Negro teachers are accustomed to teaching white children. Research and experience have shown that in many cases white teachers going into Negro schools for the first time find it difficult to understand the speech and some of the customs of their new pupils. There may also be differences in teacher-pupil relations and in methods of administering discipline in Negro schools, and the white teachers, if they are to be effective, must learn these things.

The necessary adjustments to the pupils, to the school and to the curriculum which white teachers must make might be easier if the teachers work with Negro teachers on teaching teams. Here again, of course, some teachers might find it more difficult to work on teams than they would to work alone in their own classrooms.

Negro pupils might also find it easier to adapt to the presence of white teachers in their schools if such teachers work as members of a team with teachers of the Negro race. It can be expected that many Negro pupils, particularly those from severely disadvantaged backgrounds, will be shy and withdrawn in their classroom relationships with a teacher of another race. If the white teacher is presented to them as a member of a teaching team composed largely of teachers of their own race, rather than as a single authority figure in a classroom, they may find it easier to adjust to this new presence.

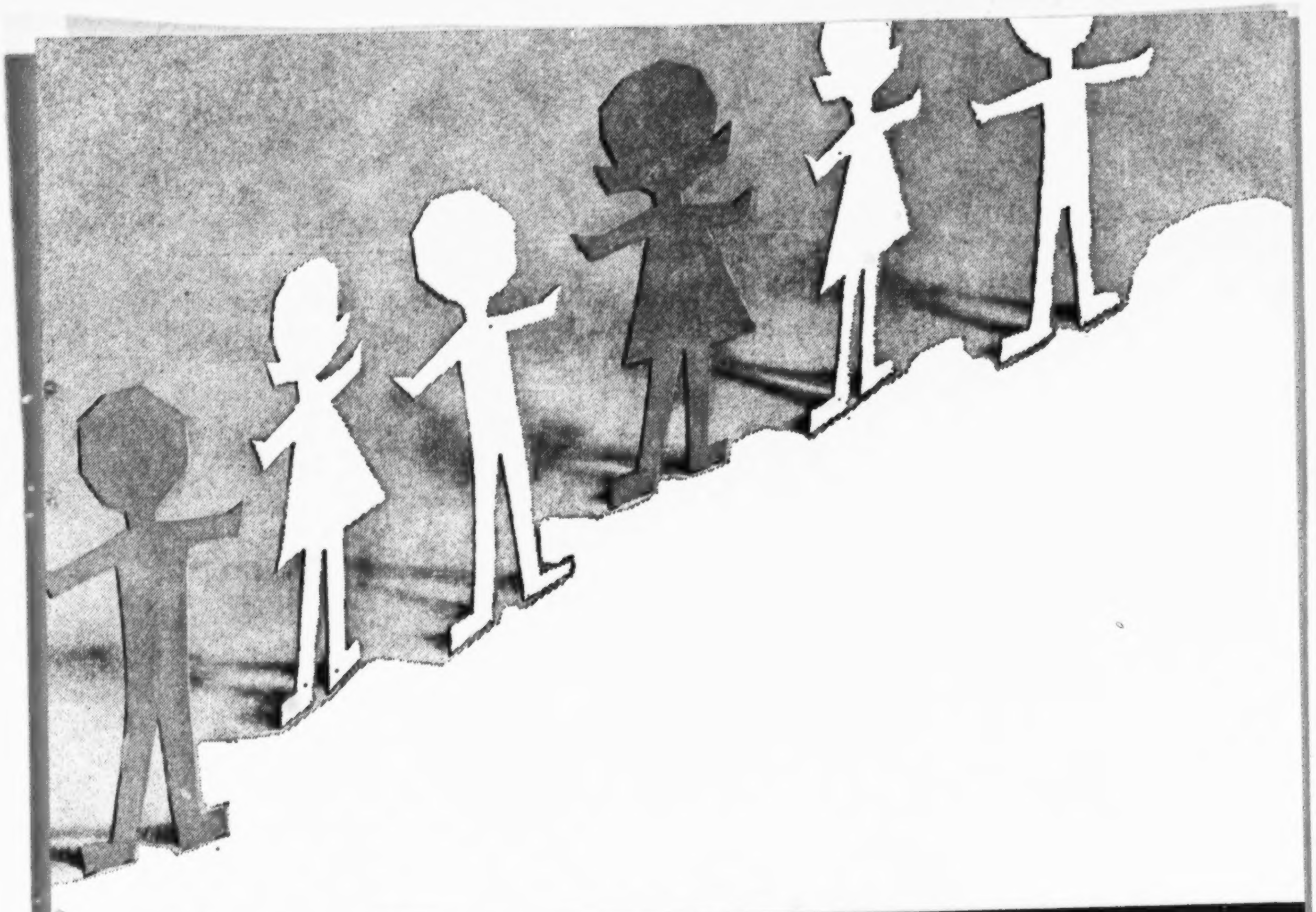
VII
recommendations and conclusions



The legal and social requirements to desegregate the public schools of this country offer perhaps the best opportunity the schools will have in this generation to improve the quality of education for all pupils. For the first time in their existence the public schools are being challenged to live up to their claim that they educate the children of all the people.

To do this the public schools must provide instructional programs which have relevance to the social, economic and cultural needs of pupils from diverse backgrounds. Teachers must be prepared and capable of relating to such pupils. Supportive programs and staffs must be available to every school to provide the help both teachers and pupils need. School officials and political and civic leaders must be aware of and responsive to the educational needs of all elements of the community.

The following recommendations, if carried out, would help Louisiana's public schools to provide a sound educational program for all pupils during the coming period of increased pupil and faculty desegregation. At the end of each group of recommendations, reference is made to the chapter or chapters in which the background information for the recommendations can be reviewed.



DESEGREGATION PLANS

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT:

1 **Local school boards, after careful study and deliberation of their particular circumstances, take action to desegregate pupils and faculties in a manner designed to meet court requirements and deadlines.**

By doing this, the local boards retain the right to draw up their own plans for desegregation rather than having to accept, by default, plans which are largely the work of federal agencies and counsel for the plaintiffs.

School boards which have not already done so should set up staff organizations, headed by the local school superintendents, with responsibility for preparing plans for pupil and faculty assignment which have a realistic chance of meeting court requirements. These staff committees should be established and begin to function at the earliest possible time, regardless of whether the school system is presently involved in court action. Every advantage should be taken of whatever remaining time is available for planning.

2 **The State Department of Education provide local school boards and administrators with every assistance possible in planning for and carrying out the desegregation of schools.**

The state department should make available to the local systems the help of its various staffs in research, school plant construction, pupil attendance, transportation, curriculum and instruction, finance, federal aid programs, and other specialties. Many of the school systems do not have specialists in such fields on their staffs, and the department could therefore provide much needed help and consultation.

3 **Civic and political leaders and members of the community give their full support to the efforts of school officials in planning and carrying out desegregation.**

Citizens should recognize that the school officials are working in their behalf to carry out a legal requirement and to keep a necessary program in operation.

(See Chapters I and IV.)

PERSONNEL RECRUITMENT, SUPERVISION AND RETENTION

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT:

4 **Local school administrators and officials immediately begin to recruit and employ teachers, principals, supervisors and all other staff members with the goal in each case of permanently employing the persons best qualified for the job, regardless of race.**

Persons not meeting the qualifications should be hired on a temporary basis until they meet the standards set by the school system or until they can be replaced by better qualified teachers. This is an important means by which the school systems can begin to improve the quality of their educational programs. It is also one means by which they can meet the court requirement that they provide equal educational opportunities for children of all races.

5 **The school systems institute better methods for evaluating the preparation and, so far as possible, the potential of applicants for teaching and other positions.**

Included among these methods should be objective tests, such as the National Teacher Examinations, to help school administrators evaluate the academic achievements of prospective teachers. Each teacher should also be interviewed personally, and in depth, by the principal of the school in which he will teach and by school board staff who are skilled and experienced in personnel administration.

Principals should be selected on the basis of their ability to lead in the development of sound educational programs and to guide faculty in carrying out such programs. They should be persons who are capable of trying out and evaluating new programs and gaining faculty acceptance for that which is sound in such programs.

6 **School officials carefully select highly qualified, experienced and well-adjusted teachers for assignment of schools of another race.**

The practice of using only beginning teachers or volunteers among teachers already employed should be ended, and teachers should be assigned to all schools in a system on the basis of what is best for the schools. Those teachers selected for cross-cultural assignment should be thoroughly oriented and prepared for their assignments.

7 **School systems which do not have them institute and carry out formal programs for supervising and evaluating the classroom work of all teachers.**

Such a program should place particular emphasis on supervising the work of new teachers and teachers who are experiencing difficulties in presenting an effective instructional program. Various responsibilities in the supervisory program should be clearly assigned to parish supervisors of instruction, school principals and assistant principals, department heads and other staff members with supervisory functions. Formal reports evaluating teachers' job performances should be prepared following classroom visits.

The State Department of Education should assist local school systems in setting up their supervisory and evaluation programs. Specialists in the various teaching areas on the department's staff should serve as consultants to local school administrators in developing supervisory programs and getting them into operation.

8 **Teachers whose work is not considered satisfactory during their 3-year probationary period not be allowed to gain tenure.**

One of the most important tasks of the supervisory program recommended above should be to work with new teachers in the system to provide the assistance and support they need. However, if, after such help is provided, the teachers are still not performing satisfactorily in the classroom they should not be granted permanent status. When evaluations of teachers' job performances during the probationary period are used as a basis for decisions on the granting of tenure, every effort should be made to avoid racial prejudice or discrimination.

(See Chapters III and V.)

UPGRADING PRESENT FACULTIES

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT:

9 **The school systems immediately begin massive programs to upgrade the preparation and performance of teachers.**

The supervisory and evaluation programs, as well as tests of academic achievement, should be used to identify those teachers who are in need of additional college preparation, either to overcome deficiencies in their knowledge of subject matter and techniques or to bring this knowledge up-to-date. Every effort should then be made to induce such teachers to obtain the necessary training.

10 **Each school system develop a rounded educational program for its teachers and staff, based on combinations of college work and in-service training, and fitted to the system's particular needs and staffing circumstances.**

Such programs could include the expansion and greater use of sabbatical leave opportunities, promotion of attendance at summer sessions and at evening classes of colleges, evening courses taught locally by college faculty, and a well organized and continuing program of in-service training presented by principals and supervisors of instruction in the system.

11 **Any further increases in state and local salary schedules provide that the higher schedules shall not apply to those teachers whose preparation and classroom performance is not considered satisfactory on the basis of the evaluation and testing programs recommended above, unless such teachers are willing to embark upon the retraining program prescribed by the local supervisory staff.**

Teachers whose preparation and performance are adjudged to be satisfactory as well as those who obtain the additional training which the supervisory staff deems necessary should be eligible for compensation based on a higher salary schedule. Other teachers should be compensated on the basis of the present salary schedule until they have satisfactorily completed prescribed retraining requirements.

(See Chapter V.)

TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMS

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT:

12 **Colleges and universities in Louisiana develop teacher training programs which are relevant to the needs of teachers presently in the schools, and which are designed specifically to upgrade and update the preparation of those teachers in subject fields and in teaching techniques.**

The colleges should expand their efforts to reach teachers already employed in the schools, providing summer and evening classes as needed and sending more of their experienced and competent faculty members out into the parishes to teach classes.

The colleges should take full advantage of federal funds available for teacher education programs under the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended by the Education Professions Development Act of 1967, and under the expanded National Defense Education Act and other programs. The Louisiana Legislature should also make funds available to state colleges and universities for expanded teacher education efforts as the need for such funds is determined. (See recommendation No. 27 below.)

13 **The colleges and universities evaluate their teacher training programs to determine how well they prepare teachers, psychologically and technically, for the job in desegregated schools.**

Wherever necessary, changes should be made in the programs to provide this preparation. Additional emphasis should be given to preparing teachers to teach economically and culturally disadvantaged children of all races, as well as children with other handicaps and those who are especially gifted and talented.

14 **The colleges make whatever changes are necessary in their programs to assure that they provide a high quality of preparation for all future teachers.**

Each teacher training institution should assure itself that its policies of admission, grading and retention are such that it graduates only competent and well-prepared teachers.

15 **Special programs should be developed to aid present and future teachers who have communications problems.**

Intensive course work in English grammar, pronunciation and usage should be required whenever the colleges find it necessary, to assure that present teachers and teacher trainees are able to use the English language properly.

16 **Improved programs be developed for the college preparation of guidance counselors, supervisors of instruction, school administrators and other personnel needed by the school systems.**

Programs for training these persons should prepare them for work in schools where pupils and faculties will be desegregated.

(See Chapter V.)

THE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT:

17 **The curriculum of individual schools be evaluated and, where necessary, changes be made to assure that it is meaningful and relevant to the needs of the current student body.**

School principals and faculties, with the help of local supervisors and consultants from the State Department of Education, should continuously evaluate their school's curriculum in terms of the needs of the students and should make changes to meet those needs. Where action is required by the local school board, the board should take such action promptly, on recommendation of the faculty.

18 **The instructional program be tailored to the needs and abilities of individual pupils as much as possible. The following steps would assist in accomplishing this objective.**

19 **Each school system establish and maintain a well-planned and adequately staffed program to evaluate the achievements and aptitudes of all children in the system, starting at the preschool level, if possible, and certainly starting no later than the earliest grades of elementary school.**

The pupil evalution program should include teachers' and counselors' evaluations of the pupils' work, interests and learning difficulties, as well as standardized achievement, intelligence and aptitude tests. Teachers should be encouraged and assisted by the counseling staff to make intelligent use of the findings. The most effective use possible should be made of the time and skills of trained guidance counselors. Subprofessional aides should be employed to assist counselors with routine testing and paper work, in order to free their time for professional counseling.

20 **Kindergartens be established in all school systems as soon as possible, to operate throughout the regular school year and to serve all children.**

In the event kindergarten programs cannot be immediately provided to serve all children in a system, an attempt should be made to provide kindergartens at least for disadvantaged children, with the program later expanded to serve other children.

21 **Prekindergarten programs for especially disadvantaged children be established in areas where the need for such programs exists and where satisfactory staffs can be employed.**

Advantage should be taken of federal funds available under various programs for this purpose. Care should be taken to see that the children move from the prekindergarten programs into kindergarten and then into first grade without the lapse of more than the 3-month summer holiday, so that the effect of the preschool programs will not be lost.

22 **Tutorial and other compensatory programs be provided for children with learning disadvantages, at all grade levels.**

In addition to special programs during the regular school day, help should be provided in after-school and summer programs.

23 **School library services be expanded and improved wherever necessary.**

Teachers should be encouraged to make more effective use of librarians' services and library materials in their instructional program. Provision should be made for after-school use of the library by pupils, with trained librarians available to help. All available federal funds for school libraries should be used for these improvements, and additional state support should be provided if the need for such support is determined.

24 **Programs be set up to work with parents of disadvantaged children, to make them aware of the need for giving their children every aid and support possible in their school work.**

Teachers, principals, visiting teachers and other school personnel should try, by informal means and through organized programs, to enlist the interest and support of parents in their children's education. The parents can make important contributions to the progress of their children in school if they understand what the children need and how they can help.

25 **Full and effective use be made of teaching aids such as audiovisual materials, television, programmed materials and computer-assisted instruction.**

(See Chapter VI.)

ORGANIZATION FOR INSTRUCTION

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT:

26 **School faculties and supervisory staff conduct studies to determine the feasibility of establishing nongraded schools in their systems, and such schools be set up on a pilot basis where they are found to be feasible.**

However, nongraded schools should be established only where the school administration and faculty can accept and implement the nongraded principle and allow pupils to proceed at their own learning pace through the instructional materials.

27 **Where nongraded schools do not exist, and until they are established, pupils be grouped for instruction in basic subjects according to their achievements in the particular skills required.**

Grouping should be carefully carried out and should be flexible enough to allow the pupil to move from one achievement group to another in a particular subject field as his performance warrants. Pupils should remain in heterogeneous classes for some of their activities and classwork each day.

28 **Various designs for the extended school year be considered for the opportunities this approach may provide for adapting the instructional programs more directly to the individual needs of children whose achievement levels have an unusually wide range.**

Such an approach should only be instituted after careful planning of the curriculum so that the added classroom time is utilized to provide compensatory, remedial, enrichment or accelerated programs according to the needs of the children.

29 **Imaginative programs be developed by local school staff to make the best use of teachers' talents and time, including team teaching, teacher involvement in preparation of curriculum materials, flexible scheduling of instruction to reach large or small groups of pupils as the instruction program requires, individual work with pupils, use of professional specialists and teacher aides, educational television, and other methods.**

(See Chapter VI.)

SCHOOL FACILITIES

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT:

30 **Where school plants and equipment in some schools are inferior to those provided for pupils at the same grade level in other schools in the system, steps be immediately taken to improve such facilities.**

Action should also be taken to relieve overcrowding wherever it exists so that approximately equal conditions as to space and facilities per pupil apply in all schools of the same grade level. These actions may contribute to making freedom of choice work more effectively.

31 New school plants be located so that they will be accessible to pupils and teachers of both races.

Location of school plants in the heart of either Negro or white residential areas makes them less acceptable as school choices and thus mitigates against the effectiveness of the free choice plan. Locating new schools in border areas or in mixed residential areas may ease problems of pupil and faculty desegregation either under present arrangements or under other plans which do not rest on voluntary action.

(See Chapter II.)

CONCLUSION

Implementing the improvements in school programs recommended in this study will cost money. Improvements in quality do not come without added costs. However, expenditures of this nature could realistically be considered as investments, even from a strictly economic point of view, since they would improve the ability of children now in the public schools to support themselves and their families in the future and would heighten the contribution they can make to Louisiana's economy.

The school systems cannot be expected to provide all of the needed money from local resources, although where there is unused local financing capacity available it should be used. Forty-five of the 66 systems now levy or share in local sales taxes, and these include most of the systems where significant amounts of money could be raised from this source. The sales tax revenues are being used to support school salaries and existing school programs. However, almost all of the systems have unused property tax millages which could be voted by the taxpayers in support of school operations, and many of them could raise more money if their parishes reformed property assessment practices.

State and federal school aid programs already exist which could provide support for many of the recommended improvements, but some school systems would have to become eligible for federal aid and additional state funds would have to be provided.

Local school boards and departments of education may obtain considerable assistance, both financial and professional, under various congressional acts adopted in the past decade. Within this period, the federal government has significantly increased both its monetary support and its role in policy formulation at all levels of education. Present day federal aid programs are concerned with improving instruction in basic learning fields, strengthening library services, instructional media and equipment, teacher training, and programs for economically and culturally disadvantaged children, the gifted and the handicapped, as well as other services.

Several of the federal programs may be used to good advantage by school systems which are in the process of desegregating their schools. The more important of these programs are those under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the National Defense Education Act, the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the older vocational programs under the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden acts.

Federal funds are also provided for the training of teachers and other professional personnel in the elementary and secondary schools under the Education Professions Development Act of 1967, the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the National Defense Education Act. Programs established under these acts provide money for training teachers to recognize and overcome the special problems of disadvantaged children, for improving the training of teachers in basic subject fields, for training school specialists such as reading specialists, guidance counselors, and others, and for improving the ability of school personnel to deal with problems incident to school desegregation. The training programs are to be carried out by colleges and universities within the state, and for that reason it is essential that the colleges and universities accept their responsibilities for training teachers for desegregated schools.

To expedite the development and financing of the improvements discussed in this report, it is recommended that:

- **A study be undertaken immediately to determine the cost of carrying out the recommendations of this report, and the revenues available for that purpose from federal, state and local sources. Included in the study should be an evaluation of the uses presently being made of federal and state funds provided for programs and purposes similar to those recommended here.**
- **Local school boards, the State Department of Education and the state colleges and universities take advantage of all available fed-**

eral funds to support sound programs designed to improve the quality of public elementary and secondary education in Louisiana.

- **The Louisiana Legislature and the local school systems take prompt action to provide any additional revenues found by the cost study to be necessary to support the recommended improvements in Louisiana's public school programs.**

Outside assistance can and should be utilized in making the necessary study or studies. For example, the study could be carried on under the management of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, which was set up under Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to carry on research on educational problems for school systems in Louisiana and Texas. The laboratory is headquartered in Austin, Texas, and has an office in Baton Rouge. The study should be carried out as quickly as is possible consistent with sound research, and the findings and recommendations on costs and financing should be made available for consideration during the 1969 session of the Louisiana Legislature.

The quality of Louisiana schools can be improved but this will require a concerted effort on the part of educators supported by the public. The sooner this is recognized and accepted the sooner improvements can be implemented to the benefit of elementary and secondary school students of the state.

APPENDIX

Table I

INVENTORY VALUE OF SCHOOL FACILITIES PER PUPIL, BY RACE, LOUISIANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966-67

School System	Inventory Value of Facilities Per Pupil in Attendance[1]	
	White Schools	Negro Schools
Acadia	$ 947.73	$ 780.19
Allen	993.78	823.78
Ascension	814.71	1,199.55
Assumption	1,022.84	717.23
Avoyelles	1,130.64	512.97
Beauregard	918.74	544.14
Bienville	1,484.15	612.91
Bossier	1,270.48	689.17
Caddo	1,156.29	1,062.78
Calcasieu	1,101.74	630.30
Caldwell	1,567.36	926.87
Cameron	2,416.35	3,913.82
Catahoula	788.66	698.85
Claiborne	1,621.68	784.20
Concordia	1,000.00	652.84
DeSoto	892.80	350.88
East Baton Rouge	1,303.74	1,090.95
East Carroll	1,118.40	506.03
East Feliciana	1,095.55	440.61
Evangeline	1,105.96	1,069.13
Franklin	1,155.43	388.98
Grant	1,157.70	482.58
Iberia	1,267.09	1,160.87
Iberville	1,013.70	614.41
Jackson	1,246.08	944.75
Jefferson	1,012.98	651.30
Jefferson Davis	1,353.24	873.98
Lafayette	1,189.49	879.26
Lafourche	1,512.81	642.19
LaSalle	1,147.66	560.61
Lincoln	1,800.66	576.85
Livingston	635.64	393.45
Madison	1,294.62	858.54
Morehouse	1,006.34	454.41
Natchitoches	1,209.58	691.45
Orleans	1,737.84[2]	853.67[2]
Ouachita	1,324.11	848.80
Plaquemines	3,634.34	2,270.71
Pointe Coupee	519.63	472.84
Rapides	1,550.58	1,142.87
Red River	929.99	585.14
Richland	1,101.10	517.73
Sabine	1,013.46	458.23
St. Bernard	1,681.42	1,212.96
St. Charles	838.88	1,054.83
St Helena	1,513.28	685.66
St. James	371.10	392.54
St. John the Baptist	873.56	934.08
St. Landry	883.83	646.46

Table I (Continued)

School System	Inventory Value of Facilities Per Pupil in Attendance[1]	
	White Schools	Negro Schools
St. Martin	1,116.44	946.70
St. Mary	802.75	741.48
St. Tammany	1,100.16	963.11
Tangipahoa	406.45	299.93
Tensas	1,332.82	446.01
Terrebonne	1,207.99	891.78
Union	1,135.46	591.72
Vermilion	974.39	710.93
Vernon	804.06	1,018.06
Washington	764.43	360.03
Webster	1,252.02	868.44
West Baton Rouge	893.48	905.41
West Carroll	1,163.91	679.29
West Feliciana	1,316.94	686.48
Winn	1,463.43	482.52
City of Lake Charles	2,351.21	891.95
City of Monroe	1,377.38	546.20
City of Bogalusa	1,249.45	797.24
STATE	$ 1,199.39[3]	$ 800.94[3]

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[1] Represents the inventory value of white and Negro school sites, buildings and equipment, as reported to the State Department of Education by the local school superintendents, per pupil in average daily attendance.

[2] Data for Orleans is based on that system's report of the inventory value of its schools in 1965-66. Orleans did not report inventory values for 1966-67 broken down by race.

[3] Includes 1965-66 data for Orleans only.

Source: Louisiana State Department of Education, Annual Report, 1965-66 and 1966-67.

Table II

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PUPILS PER CLASSROOM TEACHER IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AND NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1967-68

School System	Average No. of Pupils Per Class-Room Teacher		School System	Average No. of Pupils Per Class-Room Teacher	
	White	Negro		White	Negro
Acadia	23.9	24.2	Natchitoches	17.9	19.4
Allen	24.2	23.7	Orleans	22.5	25.0
Ascension	23.0	20.6	Ouachita	24.0	25.3
Assumption	26.3	26.8	Plaquemines	22.8	20.0
Avoyelles	21.4	25.8	Pointe Coupee	24.4	24.0
Beauregard	21.6	25.8	Rapides	23.5	23.0
Bienville	16.9	19.5	Red River	19.3	25.5
Bossier	24.7	21.1	Richland	20.9	24.8
Caddo	22.9	22.6	Sabine	20.8	23.4
Calcasieu	23.7	25.2	St. Bernard	23.9	20.5
Caldwell	23.2	21.3	St. Charles	23.9	21.8
Cameron	18.4	19.1	St. Helena	17.1	19.6
Catahoula	21.4	22.1	St. James	20.3	22.5
Claiborne	20.9	19.4	St. John	24.5	21.9
Concordia	21.0	21.7	St. Landry	22.9	22.7
DeSoto	19.1	23.6	St. Martin	22.1	22.6
East Baton Rouge	23.2	22.3	St. Mary	24.4	15.6
East Carroll	20.6	27.6	St. Tammany	22.9	21.8
East Feliciana	19.4	23.3	Tangipahoa	21.5	26.5
Evangeline	22.5	26.8	Tensas	17.9	28.2
Franklin	20.2	24.9	Terrebonne	24.3	21.1
Grant	20.9	21.3	Union	20.2	25.7
Iberia	23.9	22.9	Vermilion	23.7	25.7
Iberville	21.5	20.2	Vernon	24.4	21.6
Jackson	20.5	18.3	Washington	21.0	23.4
Jefferson	24.4	23.8	Webster	20.5	22.7
Jefferson Davis	21.2	17.9	West Baton Rouge	22.0	21.4
Lafayette	23.5	22.5	West Carroll	20.6	23.0
Lafourche	22.4	23.3	West Feliciana	21.9	20.6
LaSalle	21.5	22.6	Winn	19.4	23.6
Lincoln	22.2	25.0	City of Monroe	21.3	24.6
Livingston	22.1	17.8	City of Bogalusa	23.6	20.3
Madison	18.2	21.6			
Morehouse	21.8	25.8	STATE	22.8	23.1

Source: Based on data obtained from the Louisiana State Department of Education.

Table III

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS REGIONALLY ACCREDITED OR STATE APPROVED, LOUISIANA, 1966-67[1]

School System	Number of White High Schools			Number of Negro High Schools		
	Accredited by Southern Assoc.[2]	Approved by State Only[3]	Total	Accredited by Southern Assoc.[2]	Approved by State Only[3]	Total
Acadia	4	1	5	...	3	3
Allen	6	...	6	...	3	3
Ascension	2	...	2	1	1	2
Assumption	1	...	1	1	...	1
Avoyelles	7	4	11	...	3	3
Beauregard	6	1	7	1	...	1
Bienville	6	...	6	4	...	4
Bossier	3	3	6	...	5	5
Caddo	4	...	4	8	...	8
Calcasieu	10	1	11	5	...	5
Caldwell	1	...	1	1	...	1
Cameron	...	4	4	...	1	1
Catahoula	3	1	5[4]	...	2	2
Claiborne	5[5]	1	6	...	5[6]	5
Concordia	3	...	3	...	2	2
DeSoto	5	1	6	...	4	4
East Baton Rouge	11	...	11	6	1	7
East Carroll	2	...	2	...	1	1
East Feliciana	2	...	2	...	2	2
Evangeline	6	1	7	2	1	3
Franklin	6	2	8	...	3	3
Grant	1	5	6	...	2	2
Iberia	4	...	4	1	1	2
Iberville	4	...	4	2	1	3
Jackson	3	1	4	...	2	2

Table III (Continued)

School System	Number of White High Schools			Number of Negro High Schools		
	Accredited by Southern Assoc.[2]	Approved by State Only[3]	Total	Accredited by Southern Assoc.[2]	Approved by State Only[3]	Total
Jefferson	3	1	4	....	2	2
Jefferson Davis	3	4	7	1	2	3
Lafayette	5	1	6	1	....	1
Lafourche	1	2	3	1	....	1
LaSalle	1	1	2	....	1	1
Lincoln	5	....	5	2	1	3
Livingston	5	4	9	....	2	2
Madison	1	....	1	1	1	2
Morehouse	3	2	5	....	2	2
Natchitoches	6	6	12	1	4	5
Orleans	6	2	8	4	2	6
Ouachita	4	1	5	2	2	4
Plaquemines	1	3	4	....	3	3
Pointe Coupee	5	....	5	2	....	2
Rapides	9	2	11	2	3	5
Red River	....	3	3	....	1	1
Richland	5	....	5	1	3	4
Sabine	4	3	7	....	3	3
St. Bernard	2	2	4	....	1	1
St. Charles	2	....	2	....	2	2
St. Helena	3	....	3	....	1	1
St. James	3	....	3	....	2	2
St. John the Baptist	1	1	2	....	2	2
St. Landry	8	4	12	5	3	8
St. Martin	3	....	3	2	....	2
St. Mary	4	1	5	....	3	3

St. Tammany	3	…	3	1	2	3
Tangipahoa	9	…	9	…	4	4
Tensas	…	3	3	…	1	1
Terrebonne	2	…	2	1	…	1
Union	6	…	6	2	…	2
Vermilion	6	4	10	…	1	1
Vernon	9	…	9	…	1	1
Washington	4	3	7	1	2	3
Webster	5	4	9	2	1	3
West Baton Rouge	2	…	2	1	…	1
West Carroll	4	1	5	…	2	2
West Feliciana	1	…	1	…	1	1
Winn	5	…	5	…	1	1
City of Monroe	1	…	1	1	…	1
City of Bogalusa	1	…	1	1	…	1
STATE	256	84	341[4]	67	105	172

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[1] Includes all public high schools with twelfth grade, except special schools and special education classes.
Classification by race indicates that schools are or formerly were all-white or all-Negro.

[2] Accredited by Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, except in case of one school mentioned in footnote 5.

[3] Approved by Louisiana State Department of Education, except in case of one school mentioned in footnote 6.

[4] Includes one school reported as unapproved.

[5] Includes white high school at Junction City which is accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

[6] Includes Negro high school at Junction City which is approved by the Arkansas Department of Education.

Source: Louisiana State Department of Education, **Louisiana School Directory, 1967-68.**

Table IV

HOLDING POWER OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: PER CENT OF ENROLLMENT REMAINING IN EACH GRADE FROM ORIGINAL FIRST GRADE REGISTRATION

School Session	**White Public Schools** Per Cent Remaining in Grades:[1]												**Per Cent Graduating**
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1945-46	**100.00**												
1946-47	100.00	**89.99**											
1947-48	100.00	91.54	**87.12**										
1948-49	100.00	92.90	90.84	**86.80**									
1949-50	100.00	96.26	92.67	90.65	**85.22**								
1950-51	100.00	95.51	94.83	92.19	89.98	**82.27**							
1951-52	100.00	94.95	95.04	94.25	90.80	87.28	**80.61**						
1952-53	100.00	94.60	94.49	93.94	92.10	88.74	86.39	**74.93**					
1953-54	100.00	94.87	94.87	93.63	92.63	90.73	87.64	80.29	**73.10**				
1954-55	100.00	94.37	93.02	93.40	92.13	90.29	90.09	82.67	78.94	**62.43**			
1955-56	**100.00**	98.15	95.02	92.38	92.98	91.25	91.05	85.63	81.52	68.34	**55.00**		
1956-57	100.00	**98.50**	99.64	95.36	92.10	92.97	93.58	87.81	85.04	71.35	59.50	**49.57**	**46.49**
1957-58	100.00	97.22	**99.28**	100.26	94.64	91.56	95.79	89.60	86.41	74.00	62.38	53.85	49.73
1958-59	100.00	95.82	97.11	**98.99**	99.26	93.24	93.36	90.60	89.20	75.10	64.55	56.11	51.87
1959-60	100.00	94.25	93.97	96.07	**97.62**	96.96	94.14	87.91	88.83	77.01	64.97	58.84	54.28
1960-61	100.00	93.82	92.29	92.40	93.67	**94.98**	98.06	88.21	87.44	77.48	66.11	59.18	54.81
1961-62	100.00	95.08	93.52	92.39	91.57	92.78	**98.43**	93.55	88.57	78.58	66.96	61.49	56.84
1962-63	100.00	95.94	95.90	94.39	92.63	91.13	97.60	**95.30**	93.87	81.14	70.13	62.61	58.13
1963-64	100.00	93.60	95.05	95.50	92.89	91.30	94.12	92.75	**94.44**	85.66	72.36	65.95	62.56
1964-65	100.00	94.85	92.98	95.52	95.49	92.06	94.80	90.55	93.23	**86.01**	76.79	69.08	64.93
1965-66	100.00	95.72	94.46	92.93	95.84	94.89	96.21	91.57	90.86	85.54	**77.74**	72.51	68.26
1966-67	100.00	94.38	95.46	95.03	93.25	94.96	98.69	91.18	92.83	84.05	77.50	**73.08**	**68.56**

School Session	**Negro Public Schools** Per Cent Remaining in Grades:[1]												**Per Cent Graduating**
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1945-46	**100.00**												
1946-47	100.00	**56.52**											
1947-48	100.00	60.24	**51.32**										
1948-49	100.00	61.98	55.33	**47.78**									
1949-50	100.00	65.63	58.44	52.15	**43.53**								
1950-51	100.00	70.60	62.81	56.20	48.88	**40.51**							
1951-52	100.00	72.14	66.39	58.96	52.03	44.63	**36.87**						
1952-53	100.00	74.49	68.44	62.94	54.94	48.30	40.77	**32.68**					
1953-54	100.00	78.82	71.14	64.88	58.75	50.90	43.98	36.07	**28.71**				
1954-55	100.00	84.67	77.07	68.79	62.61	56.77	47.52	40.42	32.54	**23.88**			
1955-56	**100.00**	87.82	82.37	75.16	64.04	60.78	52.53	44.15	36.98	27.21	**18.84**		
1956-57	100.00	**89.32**	86.14	79.60	72.89	63.80	57.38	48.49	40.72	29.93	21.83	**15.76**	**14.02**
1957-58	100.00	89.61	**87.21**	83.34	76.99	69.41	61.33	52.23	45.03	33.67	24.74	18.50	16.34
1958-59	100.00	90.59	87.65	**84.70**	80.86	74.23	67.98	56.87	49.20	37.84	28.10	21.26	18.61
1959-60	100.00	89.36	88.61	85.14	**82.84**	77.02	73.64	61.53	53.49	40.77	30.44	23.46	20.67
1960-61	100.00	90.14	87.10	86.56	83.39	**78.87**	76.09	67.24	60.03	43.31	33.24	25.80	22.92
1961-62	100.00	90.94	87.21	85.23	83.87	80.37	**78.91**	70.32	65.44	49.89	36.73	28.47	25.28
1962-63	100.00	89.85	88.16	84.71	82.40	80.88	79.92	**73.00**	70.54	55.26	41.75	31.69	28.55
1963-64	100.00	89.39	86.74	86.06	82.43	79.66	81.47	74.74	**74.20**	59.36	46.75	36.47	32.96
1964-65	100.00	89.93	86.03	84.42	83.37	78.84	81.31	75.65	74.92	**63.34**	49.57	40.96	36.99
1965-66	100.00	89.84	87.11	83.61	81.13	80.56	80.34	74.07	75.54	64.16	**52.76**	43.09	39.00
1966-67	100.00	89.98	85.59	83.84	81.08	78.77	82.84	73.03	76.41	64.23	53.56	**44.66**	**41.78**

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[1] Deals with numbers of pupils enrolled, not with individual pupils. Thus, the percentage figure shown for grade 2 in white public schools in 1946-47 indicates that the total number of pupils enrolled in that grade in that year equalled 89.99 per cent of the total number of pupils enrolled in grade 1 a year earlier.

Source: Louisiana State Department of Education, Holding Power of Louisiana's Schools, 1962-63.

———, Annual Report, 1963-64 through 1966-67.

Table V

RESULTS OF VERBAL ABILITY TEST GIVEN PUPILS AT GRADES 6, 9 AND 12, BY REGION OF UNITED STATES AND ETHNIC GROUP, 1965

Number of Standard Deviations Below and Number of Grade Levels Behind the Average White Pupil in the Metropolitan Northeast, By Group

Race and Area	Standard deviation below, at grade:			Grade levels behind, at grade:		
	6	9	12	6	9	12
White, nonmetropolitan:						
South	**0.4**	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.7**	**1.0**	**1.5**
Southwest	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.8
North	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.9
White, metropolitan:						
Northeast	......	......	......	......	......	......
Midwest	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4
South	**0.3**	**0.2**	**0.3**	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.9**
Southwest	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.7
West	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.5
Negro, nonmetropolitan:						
South	**1.5**	**1.7**	**1.9**	**2.5**	**3.9**	**5.2**
Southwest	1.3	1.5	1.7	2.0	3.3	4.7
North	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.9	2.7	4.2
Negro, metropolitan:						
Northeast	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.6	2.4	3.3
Midwest	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.7	2.2	3.3
South	**1.3**	**1.4**	**1.5**	**2.0**	**3.0**	**4.2**
Southwest	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.9	2.9	4.3
West	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.9	2[illegible]	3.9
Mexican American	1.3	1.1	1.1	2.0	2.3	3.5
Puerto Rican	1.7	1.3	1.2	2.7	2.9	3.6
Indian American	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.7	2.1	3.5
Oriental American	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.0	1.6

Source: James S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, U. S. Office of Education, 1966).

Table VI

RESULTS OF READING COMPREHENSION TEST GIVEN PUPILS AT GRADES 6, 9 AND 12, BY REGION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ETHNIC GROUP, 1965

Number of Standard Deviations Below and Number of Grade Levels Behind the Average White Pupil in the Metropolitan Northeast, By Group

Race and Area	Standard deviation below, at grade:			Grade levels behind, at grade:		
	6	9	12	6	9	12
White, nonmetropolitan:						
South	**0.2**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.5**	**0.8**	**1.0**
Southwest	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5
North	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.5
White, metropolitan:						
Northeast	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Midwest	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
South	**0.1**	**0.2**	**0.1**	**0.3**	**0.4**	**0.4**
Southwest	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.7	0.4
West	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.8
Negro, nonmetropolitan:						
South	**1.2**	**1.4**	**1.6**	**2.7**	**3.7**	**4.9**
Southwest	1.0	1.2	1.4	2.4	3.3	4.5
North	1.0	1.0	1.2	2.2	2.6	3.8
Negro, metropolitan:						
Northeast	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.8	2.6	2.9
Midwest	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.8	2.3	2.8
South	**0.9**	**1.1**	**1.2**	**2.1**	**3.0**	**3.9**
Southwest	0.9	1.2	1.3	2.1	3.0	4.1
West	0.9	1.1	1.2	2.1	3.1	3.8
Mexican American	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.4	2.6	3.3
Puerto Rican	1.4	1.2	1.1	3.1	3.3	3.7
Indian American	0.9	0.8	1.0	2.0	2.3	3.2
Oriental American	0.4	0.3	0.5	1.0	0.9	1.6

Source: James S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, U. S. Office of Education, 1966).

Table VII

RESULTS OF MATHEMATICS ACHIEVEMENT TEST GIVEN PUPILS AT GRADES 6, 9 AND 12, BY REGION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ETHNIC GROUP, 1965

Number of Standard Deviations Below and Number of Grade Levels Behind the Average White Pupil in the Metropolitan Northeast, By Group

Race and Area	Standard deviation below, at grade:			Grade levels behind, at grade:		
	6	9	12	6	9	12
White, nonmetropolitan:						
South	**0.4**	**0.3**	**0.2**	**0.7**	**0.9**	**1.4**
Southwest	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.8
North	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.8
White, metropolitan:						
Northeast	......	......	......	......	......	......
Midwest	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
South	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.4**	**0.6**	**1.2**
Southwest	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.7	0.6
West	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.8
Negro, nonmetropolitan:						
South	**1.4**	**1.3**	**1.4**	**2.6**	**3.7**	**6.2**
Southwest	1.3	1.2	1.2	2.4	3.2	5.6
North	1.2	1.0	1.1	2.2	2.8	5.2
Negro, metropolitan:						
Northeast	1.1	1.0	1.1	2.0	2.8	5.2
Midwest	1.1	0.9	1.0	2.1	2.5	4.7
South	**1.3**	**1.1**	**1.2**	**2.4**	**3.1**	**5.6**
Southwest	1.3	1.1	1.2	2.3	3.0	5.7
West	1.3	1.1	1.1	2.4	3.1	5.3
Mexican American	1.2	0.9	0.8	2.2	2.6	4.1
Puerto Rican	1.5	1.2	1.0	2.8	3.4	4.8
Indian American	1.1	0.8	0.7	2.0	2.4	3.9
Oriental American	0.5	0.1	0.1	1.0	0.4	0.9

Source: James S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, U. S. Office of Education, 1966).

Table VIII

SELECTED COMPARISONS BETWEEN FUTURE TEACHERS AND OTHER STUDENTS, BY REGION AND RACE, COLLEGE SENIORS

	Average number high school science courses[1]	Average number high school foreign language courses	Average number high school social science courses[1]	Average number high school English courses[1]	Average number high school mathematics courses[1]	Average grade in high school English[2]	Average grade in high school mathematics[2]	Average overall high school grade average[3]	Per cent in highest track in high school English	Per cent took college preparatory courses in high school	Per cent read 5 or fewer books in summer	Per cent study at least 3 hours daily
WHITE												
South, 16th grade:												
Future teachers	4.35	2.87	5.16	7.08	5.36	1.88	2.10	1.94	66.2	54.9	69.7	52.5
Not future teachers	4.58	2.48	5.20	6.91	5.47	2.15	2.19	2.18	51.5	51.9	72.7	47.1
Non-South, 16th grade:												
Future teachers	4.80	4.67	5.92	7.04	4.96	1.92	2.27	2.06	67.8	81.9	68.8	52.4
Not future teachers	4.74	4.67	6.03	6.97	5.15	2.08	2.34	2.18	62.8	76.9	65.2	41.6
NEGRO												
South, 16th grade:												
Future teachers	4.31	1.95	4.94	6.48	4.95	1.98	2.23	2.09	53.1	34.4	69.0	66.6
Not future teachers	4.45	1.85	4.78	6.50	5.12	1.97	2.08	2.00	59.2	31.2	73.6	66.5
Non-South, 16th grade:												
Future teachers	4.62	3.92	5.28	6.62	4.80	2.05	2.36	2.20	56.5	59.2	67.7	60.6
Not future teachers	4.78	3.79	5.06	6.67	4.57	2.21	2.60	2.34	54.2	58.7	67.0	61.7

[1] A course=half-year (one term).

[2] A=1; F=5.

[3] A=1; D=4.

Source: James S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, U. S. Office of Education, 1966).

Table IX

RESULTS OF VERBAL COMPETENCE TEST GIVEN TEACHERS AND FUTURE TEACHERS, BY RACE AND REGION, 1965

Per Cent Exceeding the White Mean on Verbal Competence Test, by Race and Level of Experience: Teachers and Future Teachers

	South				Non-South			
	Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean		Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean	
			Negro	White			Negro	White
Teachers:								
10 years or more experience	18.87	23.45	23.79	65.89	19.20	24.46	24.17	62.24
5-9 years experience	19.37	23.50	26.47	64.10	21.85	24.85	30.30	68.41
Less than 5 years experience	18.59	24.38	17.11	60.92	20.68	24.73	25.92	63.86
College seniors: future teachers	18.43	30.18	5.82	48.04	25.74	30.59	24.54	53.28
College freshmen: future teachers	26.83	44.75	8.54	54.66	35.96	47.66	14.59	56.51
High school seniors: future teachers	17.37	34.70	7.56	52.41	26.18	37.95	21.48	55.10
High school freshmen: future teachers	12.96	25.53	6.39	44.47	18.98	29.86	14.82	50.00

Source: James S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, U. S. Office of Education, 1966).

Table X

RESULTS OF TESTS GIVEN COLLEGE STUDENTS, GROUPED BY INTENT OR NO INTENT TO TEACH, AND BY RACE AND REGION, 1965

Mean Scores and Per Cent Exceeding the White Mean on Nonverbal Reasoning Test

	South				Non-South			
	Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean		Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean	
			Negro	White			Negro	White
College freshmen:								
Future teachers	28.52	37.51	12.95	53.11	33.14	39.11	14.13	52.93
Not future teachers	29.61	37.94	14.83	59.97	33.36	39.22	18.02	55.44
College seniors:								
Future teachers	9.68	17.18	11.32	54.30	13.86	19.73	19.79	56.78
Not future teachers	10.86	18.64	13.52	55.54	15.78	20.55	31.91	57.78

Table X (Continued)
Mean Scores and Per Cent Exceeding the White Mean on Mathematics Test

	South				Non-South			
	Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean		Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean	
			Negro	White			Negro	White
College freshmen:								
Future teachers	6.82	10.55	11.85	54.59	7.67	13.50	5.78	49.39
Not future teachers	7.40	10.78	16.21	55.74	8.60	13.78	10.51	50.34
College seniors:								
Future teachers	4.95	10.27	7.27	46.71	7.40	11.87	16.20	54.28
Not future teachers	6.01	10.92	15.08	53.19	8.23	12.09	20.21	48.46

Mean Scores and Per Cent Exceeding the White Mean on Science Test

	South				Non-South			
	Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean		Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean	
			Negro	White			Negro	White
College freshmen:								
Future teachers	7.70	9.37	23.69	61.47	9.35	11.41	19.30	51.96
Not future teacners	7.94	9.25	28.79	55.74	9.81	11.50	26.73	57.48
College seniors:								
Future teachers	11.96	20.10	5.40	48.47	17.33	22.13	19.79	49.01
Not future teachers	13.09	21.00	8.45	48.65	18.01	22.93	35.11	55.46

Mean Scores and Per Cent Exceeding the White Mean on Social Studies Test

	South				Non-South			
	Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean		Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean	
			Negro	White			Negro	White
College freshmen:								
Future teachers	5.78	8.32	16.25	55.96	7.83	10.40	19.57	50.36
Not future teachers	5.96	8.22	15.68	51.81	8.08	10.23	18.91	48.97
College seniors:								
Future teachers	9.02	16.00	4.57	41.98	13.72	18.39	10.80	51.35
Not future teachers	9.66	16.23	8.06	47.05	13.47	18.89	9.57	52.94

Mean Scores and Per Cent Exceeding the White Mean on Fine Arts Test

	South				Non-South			
	Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean		Negro Mean	White Mean	Percent Exceeding White Mean	
			Negro	White			Negro	White
College freshmen:								
Future teachers	7.23	8.43	25.90	60.32	7.97	9.75	24.62	55.50
Not future teachers	7.50	8.35	31.21	58.91	8.36	10.08	15.92	45.58
College seniors:								
Future teachers	5.63	7.99	19.83	57.32	8.05	9.42	30.33	50.15
Not future teachers	5.59	7.65	19.17	51.97	8.35	9.66	31.91	50.98

Source: James S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, U. S. Office of Education 1966).

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